This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

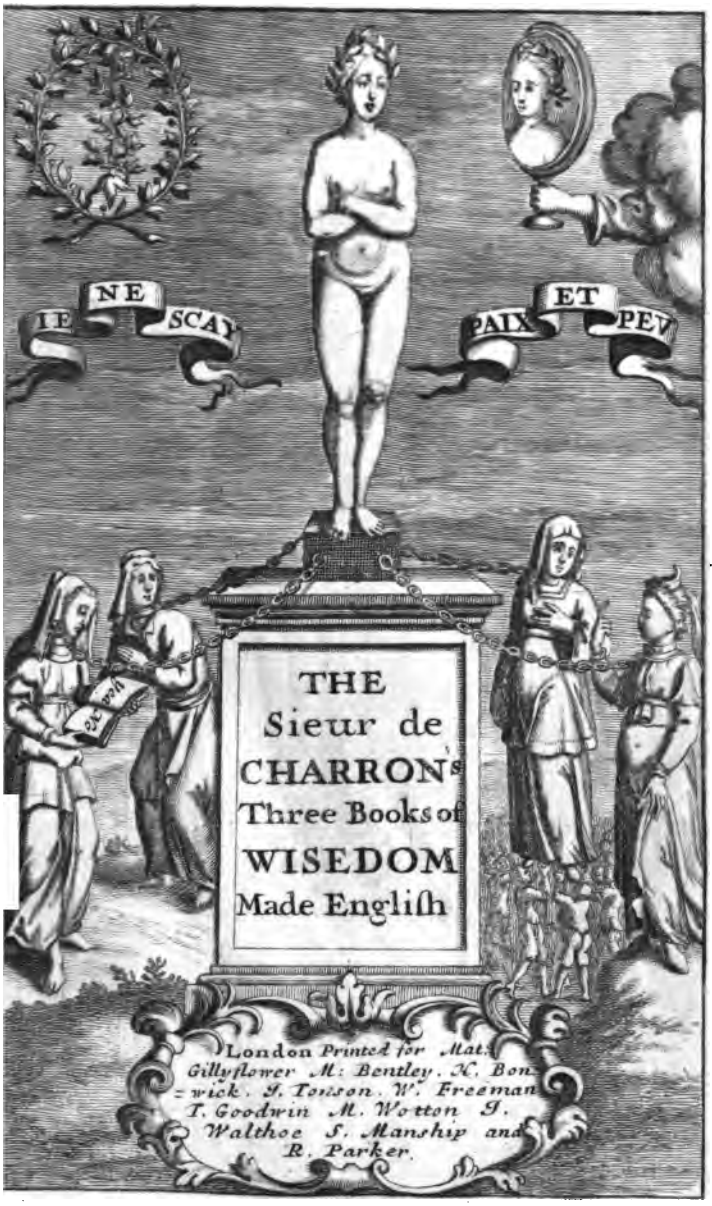
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

PROPERTY OF THE
University of Michigan Libraries
1817
ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS

S48
C485
t5786
1707


IE NE SCAY
PAIX ET PEV
THE
Sieur de
CHARRONS
Three Books of
WISEDOM
Made Engliſh
London Printed for Mat.
Gillyflower M: Bentley. H. Bon=
=wick. G. Tonson. W. Freeman
T. Goodwin M. Wotton G.
Walthoe S. Manship and
R. Parker.

OF

WISDOM.

THREE BOOKS.

Written Originally in *French*,

BY THE

Sieur Pierre *de* CHARRON.

With an Account of the AUTHOR.

Made *Engliſh*

By *GEORGE STANHOPE*, D.D.
Dean of *Canterbury*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to Her MAJESTY.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

LONDON,

Printed for *R. Bonwick*, *J. Tonſon*, *W. Freeman*, *Tim. Goodwin*, *J. Walthoe*, *M. Wotton*, *S. Manſhip*, *J. Nicholſon*, *B. Took*, *R. Parker*, and *R. Smith*. 1707.

Pickering
7977
English
2 tbls
11-24-1922
gen

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM

Lord *DARTMOUTH.*

My Lord,

IT is now near Two Years, ſince I was deſired to employ ſome of my leiſure Hours in conſidering this Book, and putting it into a Condition of becoming ſomewhat more uſeful and acceptable, than (it may without any ſuſpicion of Vanity be ſaid) the former Tranſlation could pretend to be. A little Time ſpent in the Peruſal ſatisfy'd me, that there was Matter in it not unworthy my Pains, and ſuch as it was great Pity Men ſhould want the Knowledge of, who underſtand not the Original. And as

411419

unreaſonable did it ſeem, that others ſhould be diſcouraged from enquiring into this Author, by the Misfortunes which naturally attend even the beſt Undertakings of this Nature, when Time, and Improvements of Language have given another Turn to Writing, and created a Diſreliſh for every thing, which is not ſuitable to the Genius of the preſent Age.

The greateſt Difficulty which lay upon me, was that of finding Opportunities, in the midſt of thoſe more important Cares of my Profeſſion, which neither This, nor any other Attempt or Conſideration, however commendable or beneficial in it ſelf, muſt prevail with me to neglect. But here I found even my Duty aſſiſting; for That requiring part of my Attendance in a Place of ſomewhat more Retirement and Eaſe than where Your Lordſhip's Father was pleaſed to fix me, I made uſe of thoſe Advantages to this purpoſe, and finiſhed much the greateſt part of the following Book,

Book, in a way of Diverſion, as it were, and unbending from ſeverer Studies, and a more Laborious Station.

The particular Liberty taken by this Author, is a Qualification, which the preſent Generation, at leaſt in our Parts of the World, will certainly be fond of. But it happened to have the ſame Effect upon Him ſometimes, which we are not much to wonder if we find very frequent in thoſe of leſs Judgment; and that is, over-ſtraining Points of Diſpute, by affecting to ſay all, which either the Caſe will bear, or which any other Perſon hath ſaid before. This gave Occaſion for my interpoſing ſometimes with an Advertiſement; and that I hope in ſuch a manner, as may not have injur'd the Author, while it deſigns the Benefit and Security of my Reader. One thing only I cannot forbear adding upon this Occaſion, that in the midſt of all his Free-Thinking, he conſtantly expreſſes a due and abſolute Deference for Revelation and Divine Truths. And This

indeed was by no means the Effect of his Profeſſion, but of his Judgment; for Your Lordſhip is too diſcerning, not to know, that, as a little and ſuperficial Knowledge in Phyſick makes Men Quacks, ſo it is not the Abundance, but the Defect of Reaſon and good Senſe, which makes them Infidels and Scepticks in Religion.

How little the Sieur *de Charron* ſuffer'd his Thoughts to be under the Bondage of any private Reſpects, will be ſufficiently evident to any conſidering Reader, from ſundry Inſtances. Particularly from what he hath deliver'd upon the Subject of Government, in his *Third Book*: In which, tho' ſome Moot Points may ſeem a little uncouth to Us of this Nation, yet if we reflect upon the Conſtitution, under which he liv'd, we ſhall rather have occaſion to wonder at his admitting ſo few reſerv'd Caſes, than mentioning ſo many. Beſides, that even thoſe mention'd would be of no mighty ill Conſequence, if always confin'd to thoſe Condi-

Conditions, and Occaſions, which He hath temper'd and reſtrain'd them with. But, paſſing from the Myſteries of State, and preſſing unuſual Emergencies, to the Ordinary Meaſures of a Publick Adminiſtration, there is ſomewhat of an Air ſo full of Ingenuity, and ſuch regard had to the Great Ends for which Government was inſtituted, as a very gentle Application would think an Encomium upon the Engliſh Conſtitution, and a ſort of Prophetick Satyr upon the late Oppreſſions of a People to whom he ſtood nearly related.

Upon the whole Matter (My Lord) I have Reaſon to hope, This may prove not only a Book of Good Entertainment, but Great Benefit, to Perſons who have the Capacity, and will give themſelves the Pains, to conſider it. Were it not ſo, I ſhould not have thought it worth my Trouble; and ſhould yet much leſs have preſumed to make an Offer of it to Your Lordſhip. I can with good Confidence ſay, that no Man is better qualified to be

be a Maſter of the Subject it treats of. The particular and intimate Knowledge of Your Abilities, which my being Honour'd with the Care of Your Lordſhip at the Univerſity gave me, would bear me out in delivering more upon this Occaſion, than Your Modeſty will permit. And indeed the General Opinion of all that have the Honour of Your Lordſhip's Acquaintance, ſaves You that Decency, and hath prevented me in this Point. The Manly Senſe, and Wonderful Penetration, which appear'd very early in You, have given me many pleaſing Reflections; and I am ſure are Foundation ſufficient for making Your Lordſhip a Greater Ornament and Honour to Your Family, than even that Nobility which You have by Deſcent.

But I muſt beg leave (My Lord) to put you in mind, that beſides Your Own, Your Lordſhip hath a mighty Stock of Honour and Eſteem to ſet out upon, deriv'd from the Memory of a Father, than whom

whom Few, if Any, of his Condition, are more univerſally loved and admir'd. I ſay, *loved*, My Lord, for This, as a more rare, ſo is it a more valuable Tribute, than that of Honour, to Perſons of Quality, and in Great Offices. For where ſo much is paid to the Station, we can make very little Judgment, what is ſincere, and what is the Effect of Formality, or Fear, or Intereſt. But in His Lordſhip's Caſe there was ſomething ſo Diſtinguiſhing, in all the Reſpects paid to Him, as plainly ſhew'd a particular Regard to his Perſon, and that the outward Teſtimonies were not Things of Courſe, but that he had engag'd the very Hearts of Thoſe who paid them.

I will not ſo far ſeem to diſtruſt Your Lordſhip's Acceptance of this Addreſs, as to make the leaſt Apology for it. You will interpret it, I doubt not, as a Teſtimony of the Honour I have for You, and a Deſire to publiſh my having it, to the World: And Your Lordſhip will do me the Juſtice

Juſtice too to believe, that were it in my Power to give any other Evidence of This, than ſuch an open Declaration; nothing ſhould be wanting on my Part, which might prove the Sincerity of thoſe Profeſſions I am Proud to make, of being,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Lewiſham,
May 6. 1697.

Moſt Obedient, and

Moſt Devoted Servant,

Geo. Stanhope.

A

TABLE

OF THE

CHAPTERS of the First BOOK.

THE Introduction, Page 1
Chap. 1. *Of the Formation of Man*, 15
Chap. 2. *The First and General Distinction of Man*, 22
Chap. 3. *Of the Humane Body and its constituent Parts*, 25
Chap. 4. *Of the singular Properties of the Body of Man*, 30
Chap. 5. *Of the Advantages of the Body*, &c. 32
Chap. 6. *Of the Apparel for the Body*, 41
Chap. 7. *Concerning the Soul in general*, 45
Chap. 8. *Of the Soul in particular; and First, of the Vegetative Faculty*, 74
Chap. 9. *Of the Sensitive Faculty*, 76
Chap. 10. *Of the Senses, which are the most Exalted and Noble Parts of the Body*, 80
Chap. 11. *Of Sight, Hearing, Speech*, 102
Chap. 12. *Of the other Faculties*, viz. *Imagination, Memory and Appetite*, 109
Chap. 13. *Of the Intellectual Faculty; which is Peculiar to the Humane Soul*, 110

Chap.

The TABLE.

Chap. 14 *Of the Parts of the Humane Soul: And First, of the Understanding, which is its Noblest Function; Imagination, Reason, Wit, Judgment*, &c. 129
Chap. 15. *Of the Memory*, 157
Chap. 16. *Of Imagination and Opinion*, 158
Chap. 17. *Of the Will*, 163
Chap. 18. *Of the Passions in general*, 168
Chap. 19. *Of Love in general and at large*, 178
Chap. 20. *Of Ambition*, 179
Chap. 21. *Of Avarice, and the Passions opposite to it*, 190
Chap. 22. *Of Sensuality; and Carnal Love in particular*, 197
Chap. 23. *Desires*, 201
Chap. 24. *Hope and Despair*, 204
Chap. 25. *Of Anger*, 205
Chap. 26. *Hatred*, 213
Chap. 27. *Envy*. 215
Chap. 28. *Jealousie*, 216
Chap. 29. *Revenge*, 217
Chap. 30. *Cruelty*, 221
Chap. 31. *Grief*, 223
Chap. 32. *Compassion*, 233
Chap. 33. *Fear*, 234
Chap. 34. *The Second Way of considering Man; which is, by stating the Comparison between Him and Other Animals*, 240
Chap. 35. *Of the true Value, the Continuance and Description of Humane Life, and the several Parts or Stages of it*, 274
A general Draught of Man, 288
Chap. 36. I. *His Vanity*, 291
Chap. 37. II. *Weakness*, 301

Chap.

Chap. 38. III. *Inconſtancy*, 328
Chap. 39. IV. *Miſery*, 331
Chap. 40. V. *Preſumption*, 360
Chap. 41. *Of the Differences and Inequality of Men in general*, 380
Chap. 42. *The Firſt Difference whereby Men are diſtinguiſh'd, which is Natural and Eſſential, and deriv'd from the ſeveral Climates of the World*, 383
Chap. 43. *The Second Diſtinction, and nicer Difference, which regards the Souls of Men, or the Internal Qualifications and Capacities of their Minds*, 395
Chap. 44. *The Third Diſtinction and Difference between Men, which is Accidental, and relates to their Degrees, Conditions, and Offices*, 402
Chap. 45. *Of Command and Obedience*, 408
Chap. 46. *Of Marriage*, 410
Chap. 47. *Of Parents and Children*, 430
Chap. 48. *Of Lords and their Slaves; Maſters and Servants*, 437
Chap. 49. *Of Publick Government, Sovereign Power, and Princes*, 443
Chap. 50. *Of Magiſtrates*, 459
Chap. 51. *Lawgivers and Teachers*, 461
Chap. 52. *Of the Common People*, 467
Chap. 53. *The Three Sorts or Degrees of Life, as it is common to the Generality of Men, diſtinguiſh'd and compar'd together*, 476
Chap. 54. *A Life of Company and Buſineſs compar'd with one of Retirement and Solitude*, 480

Chap.

The TABLE

[illegible] in [illegible] compar'd with that [illegible] 485
[illegible] Country Life compar'd [illegible] 487
[illegible] 489
[illegible] 493
[illegible] 495
[illegible] 503
[illegible] 508
[illegible] 512

OF

OF

WISDOM.

Three BOOKS.

The Author's Preface.

Wherein the Title, the Subject Matter, the Deſign, and the Method of this Treatiſe are explained.

BEfore we enter upon the Book it ſelf, it is requiſite the Reader ſhould be well informed what he is to underſtand by that Wiſdom *which is the Name, the Subject, and the End of it; and after what manner it is intended to be treated of in the following Sheets.*

Now every One at the very firſt hearing, underſtands by Wiſdom *ſome particular and uncommon Accompliſhment, whereby a Man is diſtinguiſh'd and ſet above the Vulgar, by a greater Ability, and more maſterly Readineſs, whether in Good or Evil. For tho' there be not the ſame Propriety indeed in the Expreſſion,*

Chap. 55. *A Life in Common compar'd with that of distinct Properties,* 485
Chap. 56. *A Town and a Country Life compar'd together,* 487
Chap. 57. *Of a Military Life,* 489
Chap. 58. *Of Liberty and Servitude,* 493
Chap. 59. *Of Nobility,* 495
Chap. 60. *Of Honour,* 503
Chap. 61. *Of Learning,* 508
Chap. 62. *Of Riches and Poverty,* 512

OF

OF

WISDOM.

Three BOOKS.

The Author's Preface.

Wherein the Title, the Subject Matter, the Deſign, and the Method of this Treatiſe are explained.

BEfore we enter upon the Book it ſelf, it is requiſite the Reader ſhould be well informed what he is to underſtand by that Wiſdom *which is the Name, the Subject, and the End of it; and after what manner it is intended to be treated of in the following Sheets.*

Now every One at the very firſt hearing, underſtands by Wiſdom *ſome particular and uncommon Accompliſhment, whereby a Man is diſtinguiſh'd and ſet above the Vulgar, by a greater Ability, and more maſterly Readineſs, whether in Good or Evil. For tho' there be not the ſame Propriety indeed in the Expreſſion,*

nour. With regard to theſe it degenerates into Avarice, Luxury, or Ambition; according to St. John's *Diviſion of it,* All that is in the World is the Luſt of the Fleſh, the Luſt of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life. *From whence St.* James *hath given it thoſe ſcandalous Characters of* Earthly, Senſual, Deviliſh. *Now This is what both Philoſophy and Divinity take upon them to reprove, and endeavour to ſuppreſs and reform. They pronounce it to be no better than Folly and Madneſs, and ſo accounted in the ſight of God. And accordingly you will find no mention made of This in the following Treatiſe of* Wiſdom, *except it be, to diſallow, and to condemn it.*

1 John iii. 16.

Jam. iii. 15.

The Divine, and Higheſt of theſe Three ſorts is treated of by Philoſophy and Religion, after a manner ſomewhat different from each other. As for what the Common and Vulgar ſort of People uſually ſay, or are capable of ſaying upon this Occaſion, I omit it all, as too mean and low to have any place in our Conſideration, and rather a Profanation of the Subject, than otherwiſe. Philoſophers repreſent it as a Matter wholly Speculative, the Knowledge of Firſt Principles, and the Hidden Cauſes of Things; and laſtly, the Higheſt and Supreme Cauſe, GOD *Himſelf; which with other abſtracted Notions, is the proper Buſineſs of Metaphyſicks in particular. This reſides entirely in the Underſtanding, and is its chief Happineſs and Perfection; 'tis the firſt and moſt ſublime of all the Intellectual Virtues and Excellencies, which are capable of ſubſiſting without Probity, or Action,*

or

or any Moral Virtue. Divines on the contrary do not ſo confine it to Speculation, as not to extend it to Practice too; for they make it the Knowledge of things pertaining to God, ſuch as ſhould enable us to form a Judgment of Matters to regulate our Lives and Actions by: And This they tell you is of Two Sorts; The One acquired *by Study and Induſtry, not much unlike what I mention'd to be the Science intended by Philoſophers; The Other* infuſed, *and* coming from above; *This is the Firſt of thoſe, (which are ſometimes termed the Seven) Gifts of the Spirit, with regard whereunto he is ſtyled* The Spirit of Wiſdom; *ſuch as reſts only upon the Righteous, and the Pure; and, as the Book of* Wiſdom *truly obſerves,* Wiſd. i. iv. will not enter into a malicious Soul, nor dwell in the Body that is ſubject unto Sin. *This is what the preſent Treatiſe is not intended for neither; but is the Subject of my* Firſt Truth *and thoſe other Works of mine, which, are properly* Treatiſes of Divinity, *and* Religious Diſcourſes.

From hence my Reader eaſily perceives that Humane Wiſdom is the real Title, and Subject of the following Book; of which it is fit ſome ſhort Deſcription ſhould here be premiſed, which may ſtand for the Argument, or ſummary Account of the whole Work. Now, the Common Accounts of this Matter, as they are various and very diſtant from one another, ſo are they all narrow and imperfect. The vulgar and moſt general Notion of it, amounts to no more than Circumſpection, Addreſs, and Prudent Behavi-

our in Buſineſs and Converſation. This indeed is like the Vulgar and a Thought worthy of Them; who place all Excellence in Action, and Shew, and outward Advantages; and conſider no good Quality any farther, than as it is obſerv'd and admir'd. They are entirely devoted to Eyes and Ears; the Internal Motions of the Mind are of little or no Conſequence with this ſort of Men; and therefore, in their Acceptation of the Matter, Wiſdom may ſubſiſt without either Piety or Probity; for All they require from it is a good Outſide, and Appearance, and ſuch Eaſineſs of Conduct and Agreeable Management, as ſhall approve a Man's Diſcretion and his Parts. Others again miſtake it for a Roughneſs and Singularity of Temper and Behaviour; a particular Stiffneſs of Faſhion, Obſtinacy in Opinions, Affected Expreſſions, and a Way of Living out of the Common Road. And therefore thoſe that value themſelves upon theſe Qualities they call Philoſophers, when in truth, to return a little of their own Jargon back again upon them, They are nothing better than conceited Humouriſts, Fantaſtical and Capricious Coxcombs. This now, according to the Scheme and Meaſures purſued in this Book, is, in plain Engliſh, *Extravagance and Folly. The Nature then of this Wiſdom muſt be learn'd from ſome other Hand; that is, from Philoſophers and Divines, who have both explain'd and treated of this Matter in their Moral Tracts. The Former handle it as their proper Buſineſs. For they conſider Men as they are by Nature, and with regard to practice: But the Latter*

riſe

riſe higher, and aſpire to infuſed and ſupernatural Graces, ſuch as are Speculative and more than Humane; that is, Divine Wiſdom, and with Regard to Faith. Hence it comes to paſs, that the Former is more extenſive and large, as undertaking not only to direct private, but publick Duties, Societies as well as ſingle Perſons are inſtructed by it; Whatever can be neceſſary or advantagious to Families, Communities, Common-Wealths and Kingdoms, all falls within its Compaſs and Juriſdiction. Divinity on the Other Hand is more ſilent and ſparing upon theſe Accounts, and Aims chiefly at the Eternal Happineſs and Salvation of particular Perſons. Beſides, The Manner and Air of their Treatiſes is very different; That of Philoſophy more free, and eaſie, and entertaining; that of Divinity, more plain, and authoritative, and with leſs Pains to recommend it ſelf to Mens Fancies and Palates. Philoſophy therefore, which is the Elder of the Two, as Nature muſt have been antecedent to our Supernatural Aſſiſtances, tries to inſinuate it ſelf and win Mens Favours,

* So as to join Inſtruction with Delight,
Profit with Pleaſure — Lord *Roſcommon.*

And therefore ſhe dreſſes and adorns her ſelf with Diſcourſes, Arguments, Turns of Wit and Flights of Fancy; Apt Examples, and moving

* Simul & Jucunda & idonea dicere vitæ.
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo—— *Horat.*

Similitudes. Ingenious Expreſſions, uſeful Apothegms, and all the Graces of Art and Eloquence. Divinity comes in a commanding Strain, and thinks it a Diminution of her Majeſty to deſcend to ſuch popular and mean Methods. And accordingly there wants a great deal of that Freedom and Gaiety, and (if I may ſo ſay) Cheerfulneſs and Good Humour in this, which you are to expect in Philoſophy, which yet muſt be ſo temper'd, as not to degenerate into Trifle and Meanneſs, but ſtill continue to be truly Generous and Brave. It muſt be allow'd, that Philoſophers have acquitted themſelves admirably well in this particular; not only in the Inſtructive, but the Moving and Perſuaſive Part; ſetting off all their Virtues to the beſt Advantage, and taking care, that all the Heroick Excellence of them ſhall appear in its juſt Dignity and Proportions. Under which Title of Philoſophers, I comprehend not only ſuch as the World have thought fit to dignify with the Fame of Wiſdom, as Thales, Solon, *and thoſe that were of the ſame Strain, about the time of* Cyrus, Crœſus, *and* Piſiſtratus; *Nor them only of the next in Succeſſion, who taught and profeſs'd Wiſdom publickly, as* Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, Ariſtippus, Zeno, Antiſthenes; *who were all of them Heads and Maſters in their Art; nor their Diſciples and Followers, who afterwards divided into particular Sects; but I include likewiſe all thoſe great Men who render'd themſelves exemplary for Virtue and Wiſdom, as* Phocion, Ariſtides, Pericles, Alexander, (*whom* Plutarch *dignifies with the*

the Character of Philoſopher as well as King) Epaminondas, *and the reſt of the Brave* Greeks. *The* Fabricii, Fabrii, Camilli, *the* Cato's, *the* Torquati, Reguli, Lelii, *and* Scipio's, *among the* Romans, *moſt of them Military Men and Commanders of Armies.*

Upon this Account, though I do not refuſe or diſregard the Authorities of Divines, yet I have more frequent recourſe to thoſe of Humaniſts and Philoſophers in the following Treatiſe. Had I deſign'd to prepare Men for a Cloiſter, or a Life of ſuch Perfection, as aſpires above the Precepts, and aims at the Perfection of Evangelical Counſels, then indeed my Subject would have obliged me to keep cloſe to thoſe Authors: But ſince I am training a Man up for the World, and forming him for Buſineſs and mix'd Converſation, Humane, and not Divine Wiſdom, is the proper Accompliſhment for me to recommend, and the Method of anſwering my Purpoſe.

Speaking therefore in general Terms, and according to the Nature of the Thing, We muſt, in Agreement with Philoſophers and Divines, acknowledge, that this Humane Wiſdom conſiſts in a Rectitude of the Man, when every part within and without, his Thoughts, and Words, and Actions, and every Motion is Graceful and Noble, and what is for the Honour of his Nature. For this is the Excellence of a Man, conſider'd as a Man; ſo that, as we call That Piece of Workmanſhip Perfect, which hath all its Parts entire, and is finiſh'd according to the niceſt Rules of Art: He is in like manner ſaid

to

to be a wiſe Man who underſtands upon all Occaſions how to ſhew himſelf a Man, by acting in perfect Conformity to the Fundamental and Firſt Rules of Humane Nature; Or, to ſpeak more particularly, He that is well acquainted with himſelf in particular, and Mankind in general; that preſerves himſelf from all the Vices, the Errors, the Paſſions, the Defects incident to him, as well from the inward Cauſes of his own Mind; as the outward, proceeding from Cuſtom and Common Opinion; that aſſerts the Native Freedom of his Mind, and hath a large univerſal Soul; that conſiders and judges every Thing, without enſlaving himſelf to any; that directs all his Aims and Actions ſo as that they ſhall agree with Nature, that is, Pure, uncorrupted Reaſon, the Primitive Law and Light inſpired by God, and which ſhines ſtill in every Breaſt; The Model by which the wiſe Man ſquares his own private Judgment. That in his outward Behaviour complies with the Laws, and Cuſtoms, and Ceremonies of the Country where he dwells; that demeans himſelf toward others with Diſcretion and Prudence; is always firm and conſiſtent with himſelf, pleaſed and contented; without any diſcompoſure of Mind expecting and entertaining any Accident whatſoever, and eſpecially Death, the laſt and moſt terrible of them all. All theſe Strokes or Lines, which go to the making up this Idea, may be reduced to Four, that are the principal and moſt commanding of all the reſt. The Knowledge of a Man's ſelf; Free and Generous Largeneſs of Mind; the acting in Conformity with Nature

(*which*

(which is of an Extent ſo large as when rightly underſtood, to be ſingly and by it ſelf a Rule ſufficient) and true Content and evenneſs of Temper. For theſe are Qualifications which never meet, except only in the wiſe Man. He that is defective in any one of them, does not come up to the Character. He that either miſtakes his own Condition, or whoſe Mind is in any ſort of Bondage either to his own Paſſions, or to the Common Vogue; that is partial, and ty'd up to any particular Notions, cramps up his Thoughts, and cuts himſelf out from his Native Right of examining, and judging every Thing. He that lives in Contradiction to Nature (that is, Right Reaſon) upon what Pretence ſoever he forſake it; whether he be ſeduced by Paſſion, or Opinion; He that trips and ſtaggers through Trouble, or Terror, or Diſcontent; and lives in dread of Death; This Man is not, cannot be Wiſe. Thus you have in little the Piece, which this following Treatiſe deſigns to draw in its full Proportions. Particularly the Second Book, which conſiſts of the General Rules, and a Deſcription of Wiſdom in the groſs; and this indeed is more properly mine, than either of the others; ſo peculiarly ſuch, and ſo full to my purpoſe, that I once had Thoughts of ſending it into the World alone. And what I have here deſcribed in Words, the Graver hath done with his Style, in the Frontis-Piece of this Book, which the Reader will find an Explanation of, immediately after this Preface.

Now

Now there are two Things, which principally conduce to this Wiſdom, and help Men forwards in the Attainment of it. The Firſt of Theſe is a Good Conſtitution, or Temperament of the Brain, which makes us capable of ſuch Improvements, as our own Care and Induſtry ſhall be able to acquire. Of how very great Conſequence this is, and how far it falls under the Power of Men to contribute to it, you will find at large in the XIII. Chap. of the Firſt, and the XIV. Chap. of the Third Book.

The Second is the Study of Philoſophy; not all the Branches of it equally, but the Moral Part chiefly; yet ſo as that the Natural be not wholly neglected. For this is our Candle to enlighten, our Guide to direct, our Rule to chalk out the Way for us; It explains and gives us true Idea's of the Law of Nature, and by this means furniſhes a Man for every part of his Duty as a Man; whether it concern him in Publick or in Private; in Company or Alone; as a Member of a Family, or of a State; it ſweetens and takes off all the Beaſt in us, makes us tame, and gentle, and good-natured; faſhions and poliſhes this rude Maſs, and forms it into Wiſdom. In ſhort, This is the true Learning; all the reſt a Man is capable of is mere Vanity in compariſon; at leaſt it is in no degree neceſſary, and in a much leſs degree uſeful. For here we learn both to Live and to Die well; and this is the whole we have to take Care of: It teaches a generous and noble Integrity, and Honeſt Prudence; and well adviſed Probity; ſuch as raiſe a Man above little Ends, and

low

low Reſpects, and put him upon Virtue from the more exalted and Divine Principles, for the ſake of its own Excellence, and the Senſe that this is what becomes him to do. But alas! This Second Help is almoſt as generally neglected, or as ill uſed as the former. For the generality of the World are ſo entirely taken up with worldly Wiſdom, that they give themſelves little or no Trouble about this which I am now mentioning.

Thus Nature and Induſtry muſt both do their Parts, in order to a Man's obtaining Wiſdom. He who hath been kindly dealt with by Nature, and brings the Diſpoſition to Wiſdom with him, in a convenient Temper of Brain, will find good Actions and Manners flow very naturally from hence, and feel himſelf advanc'd a great way, without his own Pains: And thoſe Pains need not be very great, where he is not ſo much obliged to conquer, as to promote Nature, and moves with ſpeed and inclination towards the Prize he aims at: But if the Temper on the other hand be amiſs, All will be difficult and ſtrained: Induſtry muſt then correct and ſupply, oppoſe and ſubdue Nature; as Socrates *obſerved of himſelf, that by infinite Pains, and laborious Study of Philoſophy, he had at laſt got the better of a very ill Diſpoſition.*

In proportion to theſe two Helps; there are on the other Hand two Hinderances, or powerful Countermines, which carry Men into Folly; the one natural, the other acquir'd. The Former proceeds from the Diſtemper of the Brain, whether that be Original or Accidental; by this means

means it happens ſometimes to be too ſoft, or too moiſt, or the Parts of which it conſiſts are too heavy and groſs; from whence proceed Dulneſs of Apprehenſion, Weakneſs of Judgment, Dark and confuſed Notions of Things, flat, and low, and little Thoughts, ſuch as we generally find among the mean and illiterate ſort of People: Or elſe in the other Extreme, It is too hot and dry, which diſpoſes the Perſon to be furious and bold, extravagant and intractable in Vice. Theſe are the two Extremes, like Fire and Water, Mercury and Lead, each of them improper for Wiſdom, which requires a ſtrong and vigorous, but at the ſame time a fix'd and ſteady Mind; and ſuch as in the midſt of all its Gallantry and Firmneſs, may be manageable, and yielding, and modeſt. This Second Defect however, of the two, ſeems the eaſier to be redreſt; the Firſt is hardly curable.

The acquir'd Obſtruction proceeds either from Want of all Inſtruction, or from being Ill inſtructed; which, among other Things, conſiſts very much in ſtrong Prepoſſeſſions, wherewith the Mind was early tinctur'd, and ſo finds it ſelf captivated to them, not able to get above theſe firſt Impreſſions, nor to think freely and impartially. Such Men we commonly ſay are Headſtrong, and touch'd in the Crown, Whimſical, and wedded to their own Opinions: And, if to that Obſtinacy of Humour, there happen to be added any degree of Learning, This blows them up into Preſumption and Arrogance, puts Weapons into their Hand to defend their Prejudices, finiſhes them in Folly, and renders their Diſeaſe

incapable

incapable of all Remedy. Natural Defects, and acquired Prepoſſeſſions, are indeed two very formidable Obſtructions; and if Learning do not, as in truth it very ſeldom does, cure them, it adds to the Diſeaſe, and renders them impregnable. Which yet is by no means any Reflection upon Learning, or Diſhonour to it, as ſome may be apt to imagine, but rather a Commendation, and to its Advantage.

Learning is, without all Controverſie, a moſt excellent Weapon, but not fit to be truſted in every Hand; and he who knows not how to manage it, will find more hurt than good from it. For it makes ſick and weak Minds giddy and conceited, perfects and poliſhes Fools, no leſs than it does thoſe of good Capacities and Diſpoſitions. A weak and injudicious Man knows not how to uſe his Weapon; on the contrary it weakens and over-powers Him: He is oppreſt with it, like a Stomach over-charged with more Meat than it can digeſt, or an Arm that is benumb'd and born down by a Staff heavier than it can uſe. The ſtrong and ſound Mind, quite contrary, plays with it dexterouſly, ſhews a maſterly Skill in the uſe of it, turns it to Advantage perpetually, forms his Judgment, rectifies his Will, pours in this Oil to make the Lamp of Nature burn ſtronger and brighter; is the wiſer and better for that very thing which makes the other but the more exquiſite and more inſupportable Fool. But, all this while, Learning is not accountable for thoſe ill Conſequences, any more than Wine is guilty of all the Exceſſes committed by it, or a good Medicine

ill

ill apply'd, for the Patient's growing worſe upon it. Now againſt theſe conceited half-witted Fellows, whom Nature hath diſpoſed to Folly, and their own Acquiſitions have perfected in it, I denounce formal War in my Book, as looking upon them to be irreconcilable Enemies to Wiſdom; and the fitteſt Title I can find to diſtinguiſh them by, is that of Pedants; *for which I have the Authority of ſeveral good Writers, who have uſed the Word in this Signification. It is confeſt, that in its Original Language and proper Senſe, it is taken in a very good and commendable Meaning; but in latter Times, and other Languages, the great Abuſe and Corruption of Learning hath given occaſion for the fixing a very ill and contemptible one upon it; a vile, ſordid, peeviſh, ſtiff way, that makes no other uſe of Learning, but for Gain and Oſtentation, Arrogance and Preſumption; In ſhort, all That which makes Learning deſpicable and derided, is ſignify'd by it. And ſo this, like* Tyrant, Sophiſter, *and the like, is one of thoſe Words which hath abſolutely loſt its firſt Signification, and is now become a Mark of Reproach and Contempt.*

It is very poſſible ſome Perſons may be offended at my uſing this Term, imagining that I deſign an Affront to thoſe who make Learning their Buſineſs and Profeſſion. But they, I hope, will be ſatisfy'd with this ingenuous Declaration, that I have not the leaſt Intention of reflecting upon any Science or Condition of Men, particularly not the Gown, which I have the honour to wear, and to be one of thoſe who are called Men of Letters, *my ſelf; my meaning*

is only to charge a certain Quality of Mind, a ſort of Souls which I have been deſcribing, of mean and low Capacity, but moderately provided by Nature, and afterwards depraved by Art and Study; Men prepoſſeſt, and obſtinate, and fierce in certain Opinions; and theſe are to be found in all Robes, and all Conditions; as in truth there is a World of Mobb in the Pit and Boxes, as well as in the Upper-Gallery. Vulgum tam chlamydatos quam coronam voco. *Let theſe Objectors but find me another Word as expreſſive of thoſe Qualities, and I will moſt readily conſent to the Exchange. In the mean while, after this Declaration, I think I may juſtly ſay, that whoever ſhall ſtill be peeviſh, and have any reſentment upon this account, does but injure Me, and accuſe Himſelf. 'Tis true, there are other Terms of Oppoſition to the Wiſe Man; but not any, I think, ſo extenſive and ſignificant as This. The Vulgar, the Ignorant, and Others, which I frequently take occaſion to make uſe of; Theſe are oppoſed more directly, like Low to High, Weak to Strong, Common to Scarce, a Servant to his Maſter, Prophane to Sacred: Thus likewiſe Fool is ſet the moſt directly in oppoſition to Him; but then This is, as Crooked is oppoſed to Streight, Vain-glorious to Modeſt, Conſtraint to Freedom, Sickneſs to Health. But now* Pedant *includes all this, and a great deal more, in the Senſe which I apply it to: For it gives us an* Idea *of a Man, not only different from, and contrary to a Wiſe Man, as the reſt of them do, but a Fellow that hath the Impudence*

to oppoſe and make Head againſt him; that comes armed Cap-a-pe, *ſawcily challenges him to Combat, and talks magiſterially and dogmatically. And, becauſe in the midſt of all this Vanity and fierce Arrogance, he hath ſome ſort of Miſgivings, and thinks himſelf diſcover'd; therefore he bears an inveterate Spight to this Perſon who checks his Follies; is eternally cenſuring, condemning, running him down; eſteeming and behaving himſelf as the only Perſon who has any Right to that Character of Wiſdom; tho' in reality he infinitely exceed all others in the exquiſiteneſs and troubleſomneſs of his Folly.*

Having thus given my Reader a ſhort Account of the Argument and Deſign of the following Treatiſe, it may not be unſeaſonable to premiſe one Word or two concerning the Order *and Method obſerved in it. He muſt know then, that it conſiſts of* Three Books. *The* Firſt *directs the Knowledge of a Man's Self, and the Condition of Human Nature in general. This is laid as a neceſſary Preparation to Wiſdom; and largely illuſtrated under Five General Conſiderations, each of which is ſubdivided into ſeveral Particulars. The* Second *contains the principal Lines and general Rules of Wiſdom. The* Third *deſcends to particular Inſtructions and Circumſtances, branched out under the Four Cardinal Virtues, of Prudence, Juſtice, Fortitude, and Temperance; and here every Part and Relation of Human Life, hath ſome Proviſion made for the Duties it engages us in.*

I add

I add too, that I write and treat my Subject, not after a Pedantick Manner, and in ſet Forms, according to the Methods of the Schools; nor with regular Arguments in Mood and Figure, nor with Pompous Eloquence, nor any other Artifice whatſoever. I am verily perſuaded what Tully *ſays is moſt true, That* Wiſdom, could ſhe but render her-ſelf viſible to Human Eyes, would charm our Souls, and raviſh our Affections, and make every Creature ſtrangely in Love with her. (Quæ ſi oculis ipſis cerneretur, mirabiles excitaret amores ſui.) *And therefore ſhe need only diſcover her native Beauties, and is too noble, too glorious, to uſe any of thoſe little modiſh Garbs, to adorn and ſet her off; but this I do too with a Liberty which all, perhaps, will not be well pleaſed with. The Propoſitions and Truths are compact and cloſe, but oftentimes very dry, and ſerved up crude and courſely, like Aphoriſms, Overtures, or ſhort Hints of Diſcourſes.* De Offic. Lib. 1.

Some Perſons, I am ſenſible, may be apt to think me too bold with ſome commonly-receiv'd Opinions, and take offence that I pay them no greater Deference. To theſe Perſons, and the Fault they find with my free way of expreſſing my Thoughts; I anſwer,

Firſt, *That Wiſdom, when above the common Standard, hath a Right to this Liberty. It is the Privilege and Juriſdiction of a Wiſe Man, to call Matters before him, to examine and try them, to cenſure and condemn vulgar Notions, which indeed, for the moſt part, are no better than vulgar Errors. And who ſhall pretend to bar*

this Privilege? Why ſhould he who hath it, decline the Exerciſe of it, though he knows at the ſame time that this cannot be done, without incurring the Envy and Diſpleaſure of a great part of the World?

Nay, Secondly, *I cannot but think, the juſter ground of Complaint lies on my ſide, and muſt therefore reprove Them for this fooliſh and feminine Niceneſs, as a thing that is infinitely too ſqueamiſh and tender to bear neceſſary Truth, or attain to ſound Wiſdom. The boldeſt Expreſſions and Truths are moſt becoming a truly great Soul; and a Man who hath at all ſtudy'd the World, will not think any thing ſtrange or ſhocking. For this proceeds from Weakneſs of Judgment only, which ought to be corrected; and a Man muſt harden his Mind, and accuſtom himſelf to conſider patiently, even the oddeſt and moſt uncouth Things, in order to giving them a fair Tryal. There is nothing ſo extravagant, but the Mind of Man you ſee is capable of thinking it; and conſequently nothing ſo extravagant, but that a Man may, and will do very properly and well, to give it the hearing. All the Care to be taken upon this Occaſion is, that we be not wanting to our Selves; That while we endure to examine every thing, tho' never ſo generally exploded, yet we yield our Aſſent to nothing, but what is good and decent, tho' never ſo univerſally commended or receiv'd. For the Wiſe Man gives Inſtances of his Courage and Greatneſs of Soul in both theſe Caſes, whereas theſe nice Perſons betray an Effeminate Weakneſs and Delicacy, and are manifeſtly defective in them both.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Whatever I propoſe here, it is only with an Intention to have it conſidered: I pretend not to oblige Others to think as I do; I Offer my Thoughts, but I do not impoſe them. If They differ in Judgment from Me, it breeds no Quarrel; I ſhould injure my ſelf extremely if it did; becauſe this is one of thoſe deteſtable Qualities that concur to make up a Pedant. Paſſion is generally an Argument that Reaſon is defective; and He that is diſpoſed to any Opinion upon One of theſe Motives, hath ſeldom any great Mixture of the Other with it. Wherefore then are theſe Gentlemen Angry? Is it becauſe I am of another Opinion? Let them give me fair Quarter at leaſt, for I am not in any Degree diſpleas'd with Them for diſfering from me. Is it for ſaying ſome Things not agreeable to their Taſte, and that of the World? Alas, 'Tis for this very Reaſon, that I mention them. I hope at leaſt, there is nothing ſaid without Reaſon for it; if they can reliſh it, and diſcern the Force of that Reaſon, 'tis well: If they have better for the other ſide of the Queſtion, and ſuch as will overthrow mine, I am always ready to hear it; and ſhall be both pleaſed and thankful for better Information. But let them not think to run me down with Numbers and Authority, for Theſe have no Weight with me, except in Matters of Religion only; and there Authority ſingle is Argument ſufficient to induce my Belief of things, which my Reaſon cannot comprehend. This is its proper Empire, but out of theſe Territories Reaſon reigns and hath abſolutely Juriſdiction, as*

St. Auguſtin *himſelf hath very truly and very ingenuouſly acknowledged. 'Tis a moſt unjuſt Uſurpation over our Native Rights and Liberties, the very Madneſs of Tyranny and Rage, to think to enſlave us to All that either the Ancients have deliver'd, or the Generality of the World entertained: But eſpecially the Latter, ſince the greater Part of Mankind know neither what they do, nor ſay. None but Fools will ſuffer themſelves to be led by the Noſe at this rate; and for ſuch this Book I confeſs is not calculated; if it ſhould meet with Popular Acceptance, I ſhould ſuſpect it did not anſwer its Character. The Ancient Authors ought indeed to be heard, and conſidered and duly reſpected; but to be captivated by them, is an Exceſs of Veneration they muſt not pretend to. For though a Man ſhould hear all, and pay a Deference to ſome, yet he muſt aſſent and yield up his Mind to none, but Reaſon only. And indeed, put the Caſe we might, and would be governed by Authorities; yet I would be glad to know how this is poſſible to be done; or how we ſhall find ſuch an Agreement among them, as ſhall enable us to ſay, Authority is on our ſide.* Ariſtotle, *for Inſtance, pretended to be the greateſt Man that had then appeared in the World; he took upon him to arraign and condemn all that had gone before him; and yet he ſaid and wrote more abſurd Things, than all of Them put together had ever thought of. Nay, he is inconſiſtent with himſelf, and many times does not know what he would be at; of which his wild Notions, concerning The Soul of Man,*

The

The Eternity of the World, The Generation of Winds and Waters, &c. *are undeniable Teſtimonies. And, in truth, a Man who conſiders the Matter will find, that to have all People of the ſame Opinion would be infinitely more prodigious and amazing, than to find them otherwiſe. For Diverſity of Opinions is as comely and beautiful in the Minds of Men, as Variety is in the Works of Nature. That Wiſe as well Inſpired Apoſtle St.* Paul *allows a great Liberty, in theſe Two Rules;* Let every Man be fully perſuaded in his own Mind; *and* Let no Man condemn or deſpiſe others of a different Judgment and Behaviour. Rom. xiv. 3, 5.

And it is obſervable, that theſe Directions are given in a Matter much nicer and of greater conſequence, than what we now treat of. For they do not concern Actions merely Humane, and External, and civil Compliances, in which I have declar'd, that my Wiſe Man ſhould not take upon him to be ſingular, nor think it any Diminution of his Character, to ſubmit and conform to Cuſtom and Preſcription: But St. Paul's *Rules are of a Religious Conſideration; and relate to ſuch Diſtinctions of Meats and Days, as Men thought themſelves bound upon a Principle of Conſcience to make; Whereas all the Hardineſs and Freedom I contend for, is only that which enlarges a Man's Thoughts and private Opinions from Captivity and Reſtraint; and ſuch as no other Perſon is or can be concern'd in, but what a Man is entirely and ſolely accountable to himſelf for.*

generous Adversary, either to do him the Honour of freely acknowledging my Mistakes, and submitting to his better Reasons; or else to examine his Objections, and endeavour to make both Him and the World, sensible of their Impertinence and Folly.

An

An Explanation of the Figure in the Frontiſpiece of this Book.

AT the upper end of the Page, and over the Title of the Book, you have *Wiſdom* repreſented by a beautiful Woman; She is naked; yet ſo that there is no Offence given to the Chaſteſt Eyes, (intimating, that ſhe needs not any Additional Beauties, or the Aſſiſtance of Art to recommend Her, but is natural, plain, and ſimple; yet ſo as in the midſt of Nature and Simplicity to have always a ſtrict regard to Modeſty.) Her Countenance is Healthful and Maſculine, Smiling and Cheerful, Strong and Authoritative. Her Body Streight, with her Feet fixed cloſe together, upon a Cube, that denotes Juſtice, and Firmneſs. Her Arms a-croſs, as if ſhe were embracing her ſelf; intimating, that ſhe is happy in, and ſatisfy'd with her ſelf. Upon her Head ſhe wears a Crown of Laurel and Olive, which imports Victory and Peace. The void Space round about her, ſignifies Liberty: She looks in a Glaſs, held by a Hand coming out of a Cloud, at ſome diſtance from her, which preſents her with the Reflection of her own Face; for Wiſdom is employ'd in the Knowledge and Contemplation of her ſelf. Upon her Right-ſide are theſe

theſe Words, *I know not*; not thereby to give Countenance to perpetual Doubt and Scepticiſm; but arguing, that ſhe is mature and cautious in Deliberating, ſlow in Determining; not poſitive or peremptory, but reſerving an Ear open for freſh Reaſons, and not aſhamed to confeſs, that the beſt Human Knowledge is ſtill dark and imperfect. On the Left-ſide are thoſe other Words, *Peace, and a little*; which are the Author's own Device, repreſented by a Root impaled, wound about with an Olive-Branch, and incircled with two Branches of Laurel in an Oval Form; implying, that a Competency is ſufficient; and that Men have it in their own Power to be eaſie and contented.

See Book II. Chap. vi. Fig. 6.

Below, on each ſide the Title, are Four little, deformed, wretched, wrinkled Old Women, bound in Chains; the End of which is faſten'd to the Pedeſtal of Wiſdom; who deſpiſes, condemns, and tramples them under her Feet. The Two on the Right-ſide of the Title are Paſſion and Opinion; Paſſion hath a meagre and diſcompoſed Countenance, intimating Diſorder and Fury. Opinion hath wild ſtaring Eyes, an unſettled and ſturdy Face: She is ſupported by ſeveral Perſons, denoting the Extravagance and general Infection of vulgar Errors, and how fond of, and how ſtiff the common People are in them. The other Two on the Left-ſide of the Inſcription are Superſtition, with an amazed Look, her Hands claſped together like a Slave trembling for Fear; ſhewing the Terrors and Aſtoniſhment of People poſſeſs'd

poſſeſs'd with this Phrenſie of the Mind: And Laſtly, there is Learning, which is a counterfeit, artificial, acquir'd, and Pedantic Virtue; a Slave to Laws, and Cuſtoms, and Forms; with a ſwell'd Face, a haughty arrogant Look, bold ſtaring Eyes; and ſhe reads in a Book, wherein is written, *Yea*, *Nay*; importing the Vanity and Confidence of Learned Men, their Eternal Diſputes, and the wide Diſagreement of their Notions; and yet the Preſumption and Poſitiveneſs they betray in the midſt of all this Difference and Uncertainty. And Laſtly, The Chains which terminate in the Footſtool of Wiſdom, ſhew that Captivity of the Mind, which all theſe Qualities bring Men under, which they who ſtudy Wiſdom labour to get above; and they who attain to it, break thoſe Fetters, and are wholly free from that miſerable Bondage.

A Brief

A

Brief Account

OF THE

AUTHOR.

From the *French.*

PETER CHARRON was born at *Paris*, in the Year 1541, and Baptized in St. *Hilary*'s Church in the *Clos Bruneau.* His Father was one *Theobald Charron*, a Bookſeller; and his Mother's Name was *Nicole de la Barre.* By Her, *Theobald* had One and Twenty Children; and Four more by a former Wife: So that our Author had no leſs ~~than Four and Twenty Brothers and Siſters;~~ and yet, which is very remarkable, among all this numerous Family, there is not any Male-Iſſue now remaining. The Condition of his Parents was not very plentiful; and their Expence, 'tis plain, was great; but however, in regard they ſaw ſomething in their Son *Peter*, which was very forward and promiſing, and argu'd a more than common Capacity, they took

took the Hint from Nature's Kindneſs, and put him out to a very good School. After he had made ſufficient Progreſs in *Greek* and *Latin*, he took care to qualifie himſelf with other Sciences, and Parts of Human Learning, and ſtudy'd Logick, Metaphyſicks, Moral and Natural Philoſophy. From thence he proceeded to the Civil and Canon Law in the Univerſities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, where he commenced Doctor in that Faculty. At his return to *Paris*, he betook himſelf to the Profeſſion of the Law, and was admitted Advocate in the Court of Parliament; Where Buſineſs often call'd him to the Barr, which he always declar'd to be the beſt and moſt improving School in the World: And accordingly, he took care to loſe none of the Publick Hearings; From whence his Mind took ſo ſtrong a Tincture, that a Man may plainly diſcern the Effects of it in his Diſcourſes, by the proper Application of Maxims and Terms of Law. This Courſe he continu'd ſome Five or Six Years; but foreſeeing, that Preferment this way, if ever attained at all, was like to come hard and ſlow, (he neither having Relations among the Solicitors and Proctors of the Court, nor particular Intereſt, nor Spirit little enough to cringe, and flatter, and wriggle himſelf into Buſineſs) he gave over that Employment, and apply'd himſelf cloſe to the ſtudy of Divinity. To this purpoſe he read the Fathers, and eminent Doctors of the Church; and having a Tongue well hung, and a

Style

Style free and eaſie, but yet refined and loſty too, above the rate of common Preachers; he made uſe of this Talent, by the Permiſſion of the Parochial Clergy, and that with ſo good Succeſs, that he quickly came into Reputation and Eſteem with the Greateſt and moſt Learned Men of his Time; Inſomuch that the Biſhops and greateſt Prelates about the Town, ſeem'd to be in ſome ſort of Strife, which of them ſhould get him into his Dioceſs. Particularly my Lord *Arnaud de Pontac*, Biſhop of *Bazas*, a Prelate of excellent Learning, having heard him preach at St. *Paul's* Church, in the Year 1571, was ſo in love with him, that he took him away from the Place of his Birth, and carry'd him to *Xaintes* and *Bourdeaux*, and into his Biſhoprick of *Bazas*, and ſeveral other Places in *Gaſcony*, and *Languedoc*, where his admirable Eloquence acquired ſo juſt Renown, that he had Proffers made by ſeveral Biſhops, of being the Theological Canon (or Divinity-Lecturer) in their Churches; and of ſeveral other Dignities and Benefices, beſides ſeveral noble Preſents made him. In ſhort, he was Theologal at *Bazas*, *Ars*, *Lethoure*, *Agen*, *Chaors*, and *Condom* ſucceſſively; Canon and School-maſter in the Church of *Bourdeaux*, and Chanter in the Church of *Condom*. Queen *Margaret*, Dutcheſs of *Valois*, was pleaſed to entertain him for her Preacher in Ordinary; and the then King, tho' at that time of the Reform'd Religion, was extremely pleas'd with his Sermons, and frequently

frequently did him the Honour to hear them. He was alſo a Retainer to the late Cardinal *d'Armagnac*, Legat to his Holineſs at *Avignon*, who had a great Value for him. He did great Good by his perſuaſive way of Preaching, and by the Excellencies both of his Life and Doctrine, for Two and Thirty Years together, converted and eſtabliſh'd many. He never took any Degree or Title in Divinity, but ſatisfy'd himſelf with deſerving and being capable of the Higheſt; and had therefore no other Title or Character but That of *Prieſt* only. He never ſaw *Paris* in Seventeen or Eighteen Years, and then reſolv'd to come and end his Days there; but being a great Lover of Retirement, he had obliged himſelf by Vow to become a *Carthuſian*; and was abſolved of it about the end of the Year 1588. He went from *Bourdeaux* coming by *Xaintes* and *Angers*, where he made ſeveral learned Sermons, and arriv'd at *Paris*, at the time the States were conven'd at *Blois*. Then he preſented himſelf to the Prior of the *Carthuſians*, one *John Michel*, a Perſon of great Piety, who ſince dy'd Prior-General of the great *Carthuſian* Monaſtery in *Dauphiné*. To Him he communicated his Intention; but it was not accepted, by reaſon of his Age, which was not leſs than Seven or Eight and Forty. And all the moſt preſſing Intreaties he could uſe were ineffectual; for the Excuſe was ſtill this, That That Order required all the Vigour of Youth to ſupport its Auſterities. Hereupon he addreſt himſelf to the Provin-

cial of the *Celeſtines* in *Paris*; but there too with the ſame Succeſs, and upon the ſame Reaſons alledged for repulſing him. Thus after having done his utmoſt to fulfil his Vow, and himſelf not being in any degree acceſſory to its not taking effect, he was aſſured by *Faber* Dean of the *Sorbon*, *Tyrius* a *Scotch* Jeſuite, and *Feuardent* a *Franciſcan*, all very learned and able Divines, that there lay no manner of Obligation upon him from that Vow: But that he might with a very ſafe and good Conſcience, continue in the World as a Secular, and was at large, and at his own Diſpoſal, without any need of entring into any other Religious Order. Hereupon, in the Year 1589, he returned back by *Angers*, where he preached the whole Lent, to the great Admiration and Benefit of the People. From thence he went back again to *Bourdeaux*, where he contracted a very intimate Acquaintance and Friendſhip with Monſieur *Michel de Montagne*, Knight of the Order of the *King*, and Author of the Book ſo well known by the Title of *Montagne's Eſſays*. For him Monſieur *Charron* had a very great Eſteem, and did from him receive all poſſible Teſtimonies of a reciprocal Affection: For, (among other things) Monſieur *Montagne* order'd by his laſt Will, that in regard he left no Iſſue-Male of his own, Monſieur *Charron* ſhould after his Deceaſe, be entituled to bear the Coat of Arms, plain, and as they belong'd to his Noble Family. The Troubleſome Times detaining Monſieur *Charron*

Charron at *Bourdeaux*, from the Year 1589, to that of 1593, he compoſed his Book called *Les Trois Veritez*, *The Three Truths*, and publiſhed it in 1594, but without his Name to it. This was received with great Applauſe of Learned Men, and they printed it after the *Bourdeaux* Copy two or three times at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Bruſſels* in *Flanders*, under the Sham-Name of *Benedict Valiant*, *Advocate of the Holy Faith*; becauſe the Third Part of that Book contains a Defence of the Faith, in anſwer to a little Tract concerning the Church, written formerly by the Sieur *Pleſſis de Mornay*. The Publication of this Book brought him into the Acquaintance of Monſieur *Antony d' Ebrard de S. Sulpice*, Biſhop and Count of *Caors*, who upon peruſing and liking the Book, ſent for Monſieur *Charron*, tho' he had never ſeen him before, made him his Vicar-General, and Canon-Theologal in his Church, which he accepted; and there he put out the *Second Edition*, with his own Name to it in 1595, enlarging it alſo with a Reply to an Anſwer, printed at *Rochelle*, and written againſt what he called his *Third Truth*.

While he was at *Caors*, the King was pleaſed to ſummon him to the General Aſſembly of all the Clergy of *France*, held the ſame Year 1595. Hither he came in the Quality of a Deputy, and was choſen firſt Secretary to the Aſſembly. As he was in this Attendance, an Invitation was ſent him to preach at St. *Euſtache's* Church, the moſt populous

Pariſh in the whole City of *Paris*, which he did upon *All-Saints-Day* 1595, and two Days after. As alſo the Six Sundays in *Lent* 1596. In 1599 he returned to *Caors*, and in that Year, and 1600, he compoſed Eight Diſcourſes upon *the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper*; as many others *upon the Knowledge and Providence of God*, the *Redemption of the World*, the *Communion of Saints*: And likewiſe his *Books of Wiſdom*. While he was thus employing himſelf, and enjoying that Retirement at *Caors*, my Lord *John Chemin* Biſhop of *Condom*, preſented him with the Chanterſhip in his Church, to draw him over into that Dioceſs: But having at the ſame time an Offer from *M. Mirom*, Biſhop of *Angers*, and being courted by Him, to reſide at *Anjou*, this was moſt agreeable to his Inclination. The making a determinate Reſolution was a Work of Time; for his Affection and Convenience drawing ſeveral Ways, kept the Balance long in ſuſpenſe. *Anjou* he looked upon as the ſweeteſt Dwelling, the moſt delightful Retreat that *France* could give him; but that Province being then embroyl'd in Civil Wars, (for *Bretany* was not then reduced, and ſo like to make a very troubleſome Neighbour) *Condom* carry'd the Point. It happen'd too, that the Theologal Chair at *Condom* was juſt then void, and this being tendred him by the ſame Biſhop, he accepted that, and reſolved to ſet up his Staff there. To this purpoſe he bought a Houſe, which he built new, and furniſhed to his own Fancy

cy

cy and Convenience; reſolving to give himſelf all the Eaſe and Diverſion he could, and make the beſt of his growing Years, the Infirmities whereof would be ſoften'd at leaſt by good Humour, and a pretty Dwelling. After he was ſettled at *Condom*, he printed thoſe *Chriſtian Diſcourſes* mention'd juſt now, which were Sixteen in all; and alſo his *Books of Wiſdom* at *Bourdeaux*, in the Year 1601, which gave him a great Reputation, and made his Character generally known: So that Monſieur *Charron* began from that time to be reckon'd among the Glories and topping Wits of *France*. Particulrrly Meſſieur *Claude Dormy*, Biſhop of *Bologne by the Sea*, and Prior of St. *Martin's in the Fields* at *Paris*, wrote him ſeveral Letters upon that occaſion; expreſſing the great Eſteem he had for Him and his Writings, and as a Teſtimony of his Value and Opinion of him, offer'd him the Theologal's Place in his Church. Theſe Letters made Monſieur *Charron* deſirous to ſee *Paris* once more, that ſo he might contract a Perſonal Acquaintance with, and expreſs his Acknowledgments for the Favours of this great Prelate; and at the ſame time, in hope to get an Opportunity of reprinting his Books and Diſcourſes, with the Addition of ſome new Tracts. For indeed the Impreſſion at *Bourdeaux* he thought wanted correcting; and upon a Review was not at all to his Satisfaction.

In purſuance of this Deſign, he arriv'd at *Paris* the Third of *October*, 1603, and in a

convenient time afterwards he went to pay his Reſpects to the Biſhop of *Bologne*, who receiv'd him with great Civility and Kindneſs, and repeated his Offer of that Preferment, merely to have him near himſelf, and more within the Eye of the Court. Monſieur *Charron* return'd him many Thanks for the Honour he had done him, and the good Intentions he was pleas'd to entertain for his Advancement. And with his uſual Freedom, told an Advocate in the Parliament, who was a particular Friend of his, that he could be well pleas'd to accept that Preferment for ſome Years, but that the Moiſture and Coldneſs of the Air, and its Nearneſs to the Sea, did not only make it a Melancholy and Unpleaſant Place, but very Unwholſome, and Rheumatick, and Foggy too. That the Sun was his viſible God, as God was his inviſible Sun; and therefore, ſince he had no Hope of ſeating himſelf at *Bologne* with Safety to his Health, he thought it much better not to venture thither at all.

During his Stay at *Paris*, he lodg'd at one *Bertaud's* a Bookſeller, that he might be near the Preſs, and correct the new Edition of his Books of Wiſdom, of which he liv'd to ſee but Three or Four Sheets wrought off. For on *Sunday* the Sixteenth of *November*, 1603, going out of his Lodging, about one of the Clock, at the Corner of St. *John Beauvais* Street, he call'd to his Servants and complain'd he found himſelf Ill: And immediately, while they ran to hold him up he fell upon

upon his Knees, and with his Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, he expired upon the Spot, without the leaſt Agony or Appearance of Pain. His Diſeaſe was an *Apoplex*, and the Quantity of extravaſated Blood was ſo great, that no Humane Help could have preſerved him. The Body was kept Two Days, but the Phyſicians being well ſatisfied that he was actually dead, and the Blood too which ſettled about his Throat, beginning to mortifie, and grow offenſive, they buried him with great Decency, and a very Honourable Attendance, in St. *Hilary*'s Church, the Eighteenth of the ſame Month; where his Father, Mother, moſt of his Brothers and Siſters, and a great many other Relations were Interred. The Day of his Funeral he had his Face expos'd to view, and his Body dreſt in the Prieſt's Habit, as if he had been going to Officiate at Maſs. And this was done by a particular Direction of his own; for he had frequently left thoſe Orders in Charge, provided his Death happen'd to be ſuch, as wrought no mighty Change or Deformity in his Perſon.

As to his Perſon, He was of a moderate Stature, inclining to Fat; of a ſmiling Countenance and cheerful Humour; a large open Fore-head; ſtreight Noſe, pretty large downwards; light blue Eyes; his Complexion Freſh and Ruddy; his Hair and Beard very White, though he had not yet got through his Climacterick, being about Sixty Two Years and a Half when he died. The Air of his Face

was always Gay, without the leaſt Allay of Melancholy; his Mien Graceful; his Voice Strong and Diſtinct; his Expreſſion Maſculine and Bold: His Health Firm and Conſtant; he had no Complaints, either from Age or Indiſpoſitions, till about Three Weeks before his Death. Then indeed he now and then, while he was in Motion, felt a Pain in his Breaſt, and found himſelf oppreſt with Shortneſs of Breath. But this preſently went off again after a little Reſt, and fetching his Breath deep. However he acquainted his Phyſician the eminent Sieur *Marſcot* with his Caſe, who adviſed him by all means to open a Vein; aſſuring him, that all his Illneſs proceeded from fulneſs of Blood, and, if ſome Courſe were not taken ſpeedily to prevent it, a Suffocation might enſue. And accordingly it happen'd; for in all probability, the neglecting this Advice of bleeding quickly, was the very thing that coſt Monſieur *Charron* his Life.

His Books of Wiſdom and Chriſtian Diſcourſes were printed off after his Death, by the Particular Care of an Intimate Friend, whom he had charged with the Inſpection of them in his Life-time: And abundant Satisfaction was given to the World, that the Author himſelf had in this Impreſſion added, and corrected ſeveral Paſſages. Some particularly, which not Others only, but Himſelf alſo thought neceſſary to be changed from that firſt Impreſſion at *Bourdeaux*, in 1601. By theſe Alterations he hath explained his

his Meaning, ſtrengthened his Arguments, ſoftned many Expreſſions without any Material Alteration of the Senſe. All which was done Principally in Compliance with the World; to obviate the Malice of Some, and condeſcend to the Infirmities of Others. The whole had been peruſed and approved by ſome very good Friends, and Perſons of ſound Judgment; and till They had declar'd themſelves ſatisfied and pleas'd, he could not prevail with himſelf to be ſo. But above all, he ſubmitted his Writings to the Church; and hop'd there was nothing there, that might call for a juſt Cenſure, or miniſter ground of Offence, either to Religion in general, or to that Communion, of which he was a Member, in particular.

As to his peculiar Manner of handling the Subjects he undertook to treat of, whether in Books or Sermons, he was us'd to ſay, that there are Three Ways of expreſſing and communicating a Man's Thoughts, which bear Proportion, and ſeem to be adapted to the Three Several Faculties of the Mind; the *Imagination*, the *Memory*, and *Underſtanding*. One of theſe proceeds upon Rules of Art, runs upon Etymologies and Diſtinctions of Words and Things, Definitions, Diviſions, Subdiviſions, Cauſes, Effects, Accidents, and the like. A Second collects together what other People have thought or ſaid upon the Occaſion, and values it ſelf upon the nicety of quoting Books, and Chapters, and Pages: The Third is free and generous, including

and

and doing in a manner all that both the former pretend to, but without any Oſtentation of doing ſo, or enſlaving it ſelf to Niceties of Method, and Rules of Art. The Firſt of Theſe he uſed to ſay was fit for Schools, and to inſtruct young Beginners: The Second too much in Vogue with Preachers and Orators, who in Effect only tack together other Peoples Notions, and thoſe too very often after an affected and impertinent Manner; for having nothing to ſay for themſelves, they make other People ſpeak for them, though never ſo little to the Purpoſe. In reſpect of this Way he declar'd himſelf of a Judgment directly oppoſite to the generality of the World; That to ſtuff a Diſcourſe with Quotations was an Argument rather of Weakneſs and Ignorance, than of Wiſdom. That Men took this Courſe in all likelihood to ſet themſelves and their great Reading off to the World, which after all amounts to no more than a good Memory: And This, if not attended with Judgment, is no ſuch mighty Commendation. That Theſe things are oftentimes brought in at random, and all Adventures; picked up from Common-place Books, and Indexes, where they find Stuff ready made up to their Hands, and ſo they vend it without more to do. Allegations indeed have their Uſes and proper Seaſons; they are abſolutely neceſſary in controverted Points, where the Cauſe is to be decided by Authorities; But then they ought to be uſed with Moderation, and in Meaſure;

Meaſure; and good Care taken, that they be home to the purpoſe; that Prudence be uſed in the Choice of them; for generally the Fewer and the Weightier, to be ſure the Better they are. For it was his Opinion, that of all the Three Manners of Expreſſing our Thoughts, This was the leaſt valuable.

As for the Third, That indeed was infinitely the beſt, and the Perſons who make it their Method, are by much the greateſt and moſt ſignificant Men. Antiquity and Authority were thus far of his ſide; The Ancient *Homiliſts* being ſo many Examples of it, in whoſe Writings and Orations you very ſeldom, or never, find a Quotation; and in truth the old Authors, of all Sorts and Profeſſions, ſeem to make ſound Reaſon, and good Senſe their Buſineſs. This being the proper, the generous Food for entertaining Men deſirous of Knowledge, and of diſtinguiſhing Minds. This reliſhes and ſhews more of Judgment, and Underſtanding, which are Nobler, and more Exalted Parts of the Mind, than Memory. Laſtly, This is infinitely the moſt Free and Noble in it ſelf, and more Delightful and Improving to Hearers, Readers, and the Perſon who makes uſe of it too, than any other Method whatſoever: For by this, Men are rather made Wiſe than Learned; and more accuſtomed to examine and make a Judgment of Things. Conſequently the Will is directed, and the Conſcience informed this way, whereas the reſt are good for nothing, but to ſtuff his Memory,

and

and Imagination, with other Peoples Notions, or little trifling Niceties. This Account I thought not improper to trouble the Reader with, becauſe from hence he will gueſs, what he is to expect in this Treatiſe, and ſee withal what kind of Taſte our Author had in Matters of this Nature.

As for what relates to his Temper, Manners, Converſation, and Actions, whether in Publick or Private, I ſhall need to ſay only thus much; That he made it his Conſtant Buſineſs, to render them conformable to thoſe Rules and Maxims contained at large in this Second Book of the following Treatiſe; and was very ſucceſsful, and very accurate in the Undertaking: What Perſuaſion and Church he was of, his *Three Verities* abundantly declare; as do likewiſe his Chriſtian Diſcourſes, which were printed ſince his Death, and make a convenient Volume by themſelves. How ſtrict and conſcientious he was, may appear from this ſingle Inſtance; That, though he were poſſeſt of ſeveral Theologal Canonries one after another, yet he would never be prevailed with to reſign any of them, in Favour of any Perſon: nor to name his Succeſſor; for fear of giving Occaſion to the Cenſure, of having upon private Reſpects put in an unqualify'd Man, and One who was not worthy to fill ſuch a Poſt. But he conſtantly gave them up freely and clearly, into the Hands of thoſe Biſhops who had collated him.

The

The laſt Thing I ſhall mention upon this Occaſion is his Laſt Will; which was made and written all with his own Hand in *January* 1602, and after his Deceaſe, regiſtred in the Office at *Condom*. In This he firſt returns moſt humble Thanks to God, for all the Mercies and Benefits which by His Bounty he had enjoyed in his Life-time; begs him moſt earneſtly for his infinite and imcomprehenſible Mercy's Sake, in the Name of his Well-beloved Son, and our Bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and for His Merits ſhed and multiplied upon all his Members the Elect Saints, to grant him Favour, and full Pardon for all his Offences; to receive him for his own Child; to aſſiſt and conduct him with his Holy Spirit, during his Continuance in this World, that he might ever remain in a ſound Mind, and the true Love and Service of Him his God; and that at the Hour of Death, he would receive his Soul to himſelf, admit him into the Society and ſweet Repoſe of his Well-beloved ones, and inſpire all his Holy and Elect Saints with a Pious and Charitable Diſpoſition, to pray, and make Interceſſion for him.

Then proceeding to the Legacies, he bequeaths among other Things; To the Church of *Condom*, provided his Corps be Interr'd there, Two Hundred *Livres* (*Tournois*) upon Condition that every Year upon the Day of his Death, High Maſs ſhall be once ſaid in his Behalf, and Abſolution once pronounc'd over his Grave. He gives moreover to the Maintenance of four Scholars, and young Girls,

Two

Two Thouſand Four Hundred Crowns, the yearly Income hereof to be diſtributed for ever, the one Moiety to Three or Four Scholars; the other to Three, Four, or Five young Maidens, at the Diſcretion of his Executors, of which he conſtituted Five: The Maſter of St. *Andrew's* School, and Rector of the Jeſuites at *Bourdeaux* for the time being; his Heir, and Two of his Friends; the Three Laſt to name ſome other Perſons to ſucceed in this Truſt after their Deceaſe, with This Qualification, that they nominate ſuch only, as are well known and reputed for their Abilities, Honeſtv, and Charity. And that any Three of theſe in the Abſence of the reſt, might manage, and diſpoſe Things as they ſhould ſee convenient: Likewiſe he gives, and bequeaths to Mrs. *Leonora Montagne*, Wife to the Sieur *de Camin*, King's Counſel in the Parliament at *Bourdeaux*, half Siſter to the late Sieur *de Montagne*, the Summ of Five Hundred Crowns. And her Husband, Monſieur *Camin*, he conſtitutes his ſole Heir; He paying the Charges, and Legacies contained in his Will, amounting in the whole to about Fifteen Thouſand *Livres Tournois*, in the Groſs Summ.

What hath been thus lightly touched upon, is a ſufficient Evidence how Religious and Conſcientious a Perſon Monſieur *Charron* was; that he feared God, led a pious and good Life, was Charitably diſpoſed; a Perſon of Wiſdom and Conduct, Serious and Conſiderate; a great Philoſopher, an eloquent Orator, a famous and powerful Preacher; richly furniſhed

furniſhed and adorned with the moſt excellent Virtues and Graces both Moral and Divine: Such as made him very remarkable and ſingular; and deſervedly gave him the Character of a Good Man and a Good Chriſtian; ſuch as preſerve a great Honour and Eſteem for his Memory among Perſons of Worth and Virtue, and will continue to do ſo, as long as the World ſhall laſt.

OF

OF

WISDOM,

THE

FIRST BOOK;

Which consists of the Knowledge of a Man's own self; and the Condition of Humane Nature in general.

An Exhortation to the Study and Knowledge of ones self.

The Introduction to this whole First BOOK.

THERE is not in the World any Advice more excellent and divine in its own Nature, more useful and beneficial to us, nor any at the same time less attended to, and worse practis'd, than that of studying and attaining to the *Knowledge* of our selves. This is in Truth the Foundation upon which all *Wisdom* is built, the direct and high Road to all *Happiness*. And sure no *Folly* can be compar'd to that which draws off Mens Attention, and employs their Diligence and Pains in the Search of other Objects, and fixes them every

where, any where, rather than upon themſelves: For when all is done, the true Learning is at home, and the proper Science and Subject for Man's Contemplation, is *Man* himſelf.

2. *The Dictates of Univerſal Reaſon.*

Were this Advice thus generally neglected for want of being ſeaſonably or ſufficiently given, the Omiſſion were more excuſable: But the Matter is quite otherwiſe: For *God*, *Nature*, *Wiſe Men*, the *World*, All conſpire to inculcate it; and both by the Inſtructions they give, and the Examples they ſet, preach this Doctrine, and loudly call upon *Man* to make Himſelf the Employment of his own *Thoughts*, and the Object of his own *Studies*. God, we know, is perpetually taken up with the Contemplation of Himſelf; and the unſpeakable Happineſs, as well as conſtant Buſineſs, of that vaſt Eternity, is the viewing, conſidering, and knowing his own Infinite Perfections.

The World is ſo contriv'd, as to have all its Eyes turn'd inward; and the ſeveral Parts of this Univerſe are ever beholding the Beauties and Conveniences of themſelves, or of one another: 'For Hea-'ven, and Earth, and Air, and Sea, may ſeem ſo ma-'ny independent Bodies, yet are they in reality but 'ſo many diſtinct Parts of one Body; and the mu-'tual Regards of theſe to each other, are but the ſe-'veral Proſpects which one vaſt united Whole takes 'of it ſelf. So perpetually are the Eyes of the World open upon it ſelf, ſo neceſſarily contracted and determin'd to it ſelf alone. But why ſhould we go abroad for Arguments, who have ſuch convincing ones at home? For Man hath this Engagement to ſtudy and know Himſelf, which no other Part of the World hath, that it is natural to him to *think*. This is the peculiar Character, the very Eſſence of Man, and nothing is ſo near, nothing preſents it ſelf ſo immediately to his Thought as Himſelf. So that Nature here hath plainly taught

our

our Duty, and ſhewed that this is the Work ſhe cuts out for every Man. Nothing can be ſo eaſy, as for a Man to meditate, and entertain his Thoughts. It is incomparably the moſt frequent, moſt common, moſt natural Practice. *Thought* is the Food, the Support, the Life of the Mind; it muſt needs be ſo indeed, ſince the very * *Eſſence of Mind is Cogitation.* And where, I pray, ſhall this Mind begin? Where will you find a more proper Subject for its Exerciſe and Entertainment than its own ſelf? Can there be any more natural, any that hath a greater Right to this Contemplation? any that is nearer related, or that more highly concerns it to be well acquainted with? Certainly, to ramble abroad, and fix upon Foreign Matters, and at the ſame time quite overlook and forget ones ſelf, is the greateſt Injuſtice, and the moſt unnatural Neglect that can be. No doubt, every Man's true Buſineſs, and the Thing he is properly call'd to, is the thinking of Himſelf, and being well employ'd to ſee how Matters go at home. Theſe are our Trade and our Concern; the reſt but Entertainment and Diverſion. And thus we ſee it is in every other Creature. Each of theſe takes care of it ſelf, makes the Study of it ſelf the firſt and principal Buſineſs, hath Bounds ſet to its Deſires, and employs not it ſelf, nor hath any Aim beyond ſuch a certain Compaſs: And yet thou, O vain Man, who wilt be graſping at the Univerſe, who pretendeſt to Knowledge unlimited, and takeſt upon thee to controul and to judge every Thing, art perfectly ignorant of thy own ſelf; and not at any Pains to be otherwiſe. Thus whilſt thou laboureſt to render thy ſelf the moſt accompliſh'd Part of the Creation; whilſt thou ſitteſt like a Cenſor upon Nature, and determineſt magiſterially, and with an

* Cujus vivere eſt cogitare.

Air of Wiſdom; Thou, in reality, art the greateſt Ignorant; Thou, all the while, the only Fool in the whole World: Thou art the emptieſt and moſt wanting, the moſt impotent and moſt wretched; and yet in deſpight of all theſe Mortifications, the proudeſt and moſt conceited, the moſt arrogant and diſdainful Creature upon Earth. Look at home then for Shame; turn thine Eyes inward, and employ thy Senſes there. Call back thy wandring Mind, the Underſtanding, and thy Will, which rove and ſpend their Strength unprofitably abroad, and fix them in the Conſideration of themſelves. Thou art buſy, and yet negligent; beggarly, and yet profuſe: For thou loſeſt and waſteſt thy ſelf in Things without, and forgetteſt quite what is thy own within. Thus thou art a Thief and a Traytor to thy ſelf: Reſtore then what thou haſt thus falſely ſtolen away; and inſtead of gazing round, and looking always before thee, collect thy ſelf, and confine thy Thoughts at home: Look diligently within thee; ſearch curiouſly there, and know thy ſelf perfectly. Thus our wiſe Maſters have adviſed.

Dryden. * *Weigh no Merit by the common Scale.*
The Conſcience is the Teſt of every Mind;
Seek not thy ſelf without thy ſelf to find.
Pleaſe not thy ſelf the flatt'ring Croud to hear;
'Tis fulſom Stuff to feed thy itching Ear.
Reject the nauſeous Praiſes of the Times:——
Dryden. Survey thy Soul; not what thou doſt appear,
Eng. Perſ. But what thou art, and find the Beggar there.

---

* Noſce teipſum!——nec te quæſiveris extrà.
Reſpue quod non es.——*Perſ. Sat.* 1.
Tecum habita, & noris quam ſit tibi curta ſupellex. *Perſ. Sat.* 4.

* *Sift*

* *Sift well thy Soul, its Product nicely view,*
And learn from whence thy Tares and Darnel grew;
Which are to Nature, which to Cuſtom due.
If the thin Crop ſprung from a Soil too lean,
Or long neglected Weeds have choak'd the generous Grain.

3. *A Scale leading to Divine Wiſdom.*

The *Knowledge* of a Man's ſelf is a Step to the *Knowledge* of God: The beſt and ſhorteſt Method we can poſſibly take of raiſing our Minds up to Heaven. It muſt needs be ſo, becauſe there is no other thing capable of being known by us, which carries ſuch lively Stroaks, ſuch expreſs Images and Characters, ſuch clear and convincing Teſtimonies of God, as Man does: And alſo becauſe whatever there is of this kind, may be more perfectly known by us: For a Man muſt be of neceſſity more ſenſible of thoſe Faculties and Motions, which are within himſelf, and better qualify'd to give an Account of them, than he can be of thoſe which belong to any other Creature; becauſe theſe are at ſome diſtance from him, and he cannot poſſibly be alike conſcious of them. † *Thou haſt faſhioned and cloſed me in, and laid thy hand upon me: therefore is thy Knowledge become wonderful.* That is, *The Knowledge of Thee*, which reſults from the Contemplation of my ſelf, and the Reſemblance of the Humane to the Divine Nature (as ſome interpret that Paſſage.) From hence perhaps it was, that *Apollo* (who among the Heathens was eſteem'd) the God of Knowledge and of Light, had this Inſcription *KNOW THT SELF*, engraven in Characters of Gold upon the Front of his Temple, as a neceſſary Greeting, and Advertiſement from the God, to all that ſhould approach him; intimating Pſal. 139. 5, 6.

* Tu te conſule.
Teipſum concute, nunquid vitiorum,
Inſeverit olim natura, aut etiam conſuetudo mala.
† Mirabilis facta eſt ſcientia tua. *i. e.* tui ex me.

that this was the firſt Motion from Ignorance and Darkneſs; the moſt neceſſury Qualification for gaining Acceſs to ſuch a Deity: That upon theſe Terms only they could be admitted to his Temple, and fit for his Worſhip; and that all who were not acquainted with themſelves, muſt be excluded from that Place and Privilege. * *If thou know not who thou art, O thou faireſt among Women, go thy way forth and follow thy Kids.*

Cant. 1. 8.

It diſpoſes Men to be wiſe.

Would a Man make it his Buſineſs (as every Man ſure ought to do) to lead the moſt regular, compoſed, and pleaſant Life that can be, we need go no further to fetch Inſtructions for it, than our own ſelves. Had we but the Diligence and Application, as we have the Capacity and the Opportunity to learn, every Man would be able to teach himſelf more and better than all the Books in the World, and all his poring there can ever teach him.

He that ſhall remember, and critically obſerve, the extravagant Sallies of his *Anger*, to what Furies and Frenzies this raging *Fever* of the *Mind* hath formerly tranſported him, will more diſtinctly ſee the monſtrous Deformity of this Paſſion, and conceive a juſter Abhorrence, and more irreconcilable Hatred againſt it, than all the fine Things that *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* have ſaid upon the Point, can ever work him up to. And the ſame in Proportion may be expected from a Reflection in all other Caſes, where there is a vicious Exceſs, or violent Concuſſion of the Soul. He that ſhall recollect the many falſe Concluſions, which an erroneous Judgment hath led him into, and the Slips and Miſcarriages which an unfaithful Memory hath been guilty of, will learn to be more cautious how he truſts either of theſe for the future: And eſpecially when a

* Si te ignoras, O pulcherrima, egredere, & abi poſt hœdos tuos.

Man

Man calls to mind, how many Caſes he is able to quote to himſelf, wherein he thought, all Difficulties ſufficiently conſider'd, that he was a perfect Maſter of his Point; how aſſured and peremptory he hath been, how forward to anſwer to himſelf, and to all he convers'd with; nay, to ſtake his Reputation for the Truth of an Opinion, and yet Time and After-Thought have demonſtrated the direct contrary: This bold confiding Man, I ſay, will be taught from hence to diſtruſt ſuch haſty Arrogance, and abandon all that unreaſonable and peeviſh Poſitiveneſs and Preſumption, which, of all Qualities in the World, is the moſt oppoſite, moſt mortal Enemy to better Information and Diſcovery of the Truth. The Man that ſhall reflect upon the many Hazards and Sufferings, in which he hath been actually involved, and the many more that have threatned him; how ſlight and trifling Accidents have yet given great Turns to his Fortunes, and changed the whole Face of his Affairs; how often he hath been forc'd to take new Meaſures, and found Cauſe to diſlike what once appear'd well deſign'd and wiſely manag'd: This Man will expect and make Proviſion for Changes hereafter, will be ſenſible how ſlippery Ground he ſtands upon, will conſider the Uncertainties of Humane Life, will behave himſelf with Modeſty and Moderation, will mind his own Buſineſs, and not concern himſelf with other People, to the giving them any Offence, or creating any Diſturbance, and will undertake to aim at nothing too big for him. And were all Men thus diſpos'd, what a Heaven upon Earth ſhould we have? Perfect Peace and Order and Juſtice every where. In ſhort, the trueſt Glaſs we can conſult, the moſt improving Book we can read, is *Our own ſelves*, provided we would but hold our Eyes open, and keep our Minds fixed with all due Attention upon it; ſo bringing to

a cloſe and diſtinct View, and watching every Feature, every Line, every Act and Motion of our Souls ſo narrowly, that none may eſcape us.

5. *Againſt thoſe who know not themſelves.*

But alas! this is the leaſt of our Care, and the fartheſt thing in our Thoughts.

* *Into himſelf none labours to deſcend.*

And hence it is that we fall ſo low and ſo often. To this muſt be imputed our perpetual Relapſes into the ſame Fault, without being ever touched with a Senſe of our Error, or troubling our ſelves at all about the matter. We play the fool egregiouſly, at our own vaſt Expence: For Difficulties in any caſe are never rightly underſtood, except by ſuch as have meaſur'd their own Abilities. And indeed as a Man muſt thruſt at a Door before he can be ſure that it is ſhut againſt him; ſo there is ſome degree of Application and good Senſe neceſſary, in order to the perceiving the Defects of ones own Mind. And we cannot have a more infallible Demonſtration of the univerſal Ignorance of Mankind than this, that every Body appears ſo gay, ſo forward, ſo undertaking, ſo highly ſatisfy'd; and that none can be found, who at all queſtion the Sufficiency of their own Underſtanding. For were we throughly acquainted with our ſelves, we ſhould manage our ſelves and our Affairs after quite another manner: We ſhould be aſham'd of our ſelves and our Condition, and become a new kind of Creatures. He that is ignorant of his Failings, is in no Pain to correct them; and he that knows not his Wants, takes no manner of care for Supplies; and he that feels not his Diſeaſe and his Miſery, never thinks of repairing the Breaches of his Conſtitution, or is ſolicitous for Phyſick. † *You muſt know your ſelf before*

* Nemo in ſeſe tentat deſcendere.

† Deprehendas te oportet priuſquam emendas; ſanitatis initium ſentire ſibi opus eſſe remedio.

you

you can mend your ſelf; the firſt Step to Health and Recovery, is the being ſenſible that you need a Cure. And this very thing is our Unhappineſs; that we think all is ſafe well. We are highly contented with our ſelves, and thus all our Miſeries are doubled. *Socrates* was pronounc'd the wiſeſt Man; not for any Excellencies of natural or acquir'd Parts, which render'd him ſuperior to all the World; but becauſe he underſtood himſelf better, behav'd himſelf with Modeſty and Decency, and acted like a Man Thus *Socrates* was a Prince among Men, as we commonly ſay, *He that hath one Eye is a King among them that have none.* Such as are doubly blind, and have no Senſe at all left: (For ſo are the Generality of the World;) Nature makes them weak and wretched at firſt; but they make themſelves doubly ſo afterwards, by their Pride, and lofty Conceits of their own Sufficiency, and an abſolute Inſenſibility of their Wants and their Miſeries. The former of theſe Misfortunes *Socrates* ſhared as well as others; for he had his blind Side too: That is, he was a Man, and conſequently had the ſame Allay of Infirmity and Miſery with other Men: But here was the difference, that he knew he was *but a Man*: He conſider'd his Condition, and made no difficulty to acknowledge all the Imperfections of it; and therefore he dealt honeſtly, and acted wiſely; for he liv'd and behav'd himſelf as a Man ſhould do. To this purpoſe may that Reply be taken, which Truth it ſelf made to the haughty *Phariſees*, who, in Deriſion, ſaid unto him, *What then? Are we blind alſo? If you were blind* (ſays he) that is, if ye were ſenſible of your Blindneſs, *ye would ſee better*; but becauſe you ſay, *we ſee*, therefore ye remain ſtark-blind. For thoſe who have an Opinion of their own good Sight, are really blind; and thoſe who are conſcious of their own Blindneſs, are the Men that ſee beſt. How wretch-

Joh. 9 41.

ed

ed a Folly is it to degenerate into Beasts, by not considering carefully that we are Men? * *Since Nature hath made thee a Man, take care constantly to remember that thou art such.* We read, that several great Persons have order'd that their Attendants should often ring it in their Ears, *That they were Men*, intending that Admonition for a Curb to their Exorbitances. And sure the Practice was admirable, if, as the Sound struck upon their Ears, the Consideration enter'd their Hearts too. What the *Athenians* said to *Pompey the Great*, was not much amiss, *You are so far a God, as you acknowledge your self a Man.* For thus much at least is beyond Contradiction, That the way to be an excellently good Man, is to be throughly possess'd with the Sense of one's being a Man.

6. *Means of coming to the Knowledge of one's self. False ones.*

Now this Knowledge of one's self (a thing by the way, very difficult to be attain'd, and scarce to be met with; as on the contrary, the mistaking and passing wrong Judgments of one's self, is exceeding obvious and easy:) This Knowledge, I say, is never to be acquir'd by the Help of others. My Meaning is; Not by comparing our selves with others, measuring by them, depending upon their Character, or observing what Argument or Disagreement there is between our Practice and their Example, so that a Man shall applaud or condemn himself, for doing or not doing as they do, or as they like or dislike.

* *What the World says thou art, believe not true,*
This Credit only to thy self is due.

Nor indeed can we depend upon our own Word or Opinion in the case; for This oftentimes is short-

* Homo cùm sis, id fac semper intelligas.
† Plus aliis de te quam tu tibi credere noli.

sighted;

ſighted; it diſcovers not all that is to be ſeen, and it makes a falſe Report of what it diſcovers; like a treacherous or a brib'd Witneſs, that ſhuffles in his Evidence, and is afraid to ſpeak out. Nor can we form a Judgment from any ſingle Action; for this may come from a Man without being intended, or ſo much as thought of; it may be a ſudden Puſh upon an unuſual preſſing Occaſion; the Work of Neceſſity, or the Work of Chance; a lucky Hit, or a ſudden Sally; and owing to Heat or Paſſion; to one, to all of theſe, to any thing indeed, rather than to the Man himſelf. And therefore we can fix no Character from a thing which is not of our own growth. One courageous Action no more proves a Man Brave, nor one Act of Juſtice Juſt, than the breadth and depth of a River, and the ſtrength of its Current, is to be taken from a ſudden accidental Flood, when all the neighbouring Brooks empty themſelves into it, and ſwell it above its Banks. For thus there are Circumſtances and Accidents in Humane Life too, which, like ſtrong Winds, and rapid Torrents, change our uſual Courſe, and carry us beyond our ſelves; and this in ſo ſurprizing a manner, that Vice it ſelf hath ſometimes put Men upon doing very good Things: So extreamly nice a thing it is, to know Men truly. Again, We can learn nothing to purpoſe by all the outward Appendages of the Man; his Employments, Preferments, Honours, Riches, Birth, good Acceptance, and general Applauſe, of great and common Men; no, nor yet by his Deportment when he appears abroad; for there the Man plays in Check, ſtands upon his Guard, and every Motion is with Reſerve and Conſtraint. Fear, and Shame, and Ambition, and a thouſand other Paſſions, put him upon playing the Part you ſee then acted. To know him throughly, you muſt follow him into his Cloſet, ſee him in the Tireing-Room,

Room, and in his every-day Garb. Alas! he is oftentimes quite another thing at Home, than what he appears in the Street, at Court, or upon the Exchange; one ſort of Man to Strangers, and another to his own Family. When he goes out of his Houſe, he dreſſes for the Stage, and the Farce begins; you can lay no ſtreſs upon what you ſee of him there. This is not the Man, but the Character he ſets himſelf to maintain: And you will never know any thing of him, till you make a difference between the Perſon of the Comedian that plays, and the Perſon repreſented by him.

7. *True ones.* The Knowledge of a Man's ſelf then is not to be compaſſed by any, or all of theſe four ways, nor can we rely upon, or make any ſure Concluſions from them. The only way to arrive at it, is by a true, long, conſtant Study of a Man's ſelf; a ſerious and diligent Examination, ſuch as ſhall obſerve and nicely weigh, not only his Words and Actions, but even his moſt ſecret Thoughts, (and that ſo critically, as to diſcern how they are firſt born, upon what they feed, and by what degrees they grow, the time of their Continuance, the manner and the frequency of their Returns upon him.) In ſhort, no Motion of his Mind muſt eſcape his Notice; no, not his very Dreams: He muſt view himſelf near, muſt be eternally prying, handling, preſſing, probing, nay, pinching himſelf to the quick: For there are many Vices in us, that lurk cloſe, and lie deep; and we know nothing of them becauſe we do not take the Pains to ſearch far enough, and ferret them out: As the venomous Serpent, while numm'd with cold, is handled ſafely, and Stings not till he is warm'd. And further yet, when all this is done, a Senſe and Acknowledgement of particular Failings, and perſonal Faults, and an endeavour to mend them, will not do the buſineſs; but a Man muſt be convinced of his Weak-

Weakneſs and Miſery throughout, that every part of him is tainted with it; and from thence he muſt proceed to amend the whole, and make the Reformation equally general.

8. *The Diviſion of this Firſt Book.*

To this purpoſe we will now apply our ſelves in the Firſt Book of this Treatiſe, to conſider and underſtand Man; by taking him in every Senſe, looking upon him in the ſeveral Proſpects he is capable of; feeling his Pulſe, ſounding him to the bottom, going into him with Candles, ſearching and ranſacking every Hole and Corner, every Maze and Labyrinth, every Cloſet and falſe Floor, and all the ſubtil Windings of his Hypocriſy. And all this Niceneſs little enough, God knows; for he is the cunningeſt and moſt diſſembling, the cloſeſt and moſt diſguis'd Creature alive, and, indeed, almoſt incapable of being perfectly known. Upon this account we will attempt the Conſideration of him under the Five Heads repreſented by the Table here annexed, which ſets before you at one general View, the Subſtance and the Method of this *Firſt Book*.

Five Conſiderations of Man, and the Condition of Human Nature, taken as follows.

- I. Natural, conſiſting of the Parts whereof he is compounded, with their ſeveral Appurtenances.
- II. Natural and Moral; by ſtating the Compariſon between Him and Brutes.
- III. By giving a Summary Account of his Life.
- IV. A Moral Deſcription of his Qualities and Defects, under Five Heads.
  1. Vanity.
  2. Weakneſs.
  3. Inconſtancy.
  4. Miſery.
  5. Preſumption.
- V. Mix'd of Natural and Moral; reſulting from the differences between ſome Men and others, in,
  1. Their Temper.
  2. Their Minds and Accompliſhments.
  3. Their Stations and Degrees of Quality.
  4. Their Profeſſions and Circumſtances.
  5. Their Advantages and Diſadvantages; and, theſe again either { Natural, Acquired, or Accidental.

THE

THE

Firſt Conſideration.

Which is purely Natural; conſiſting of the ſeveral Parts whereof Man *is compounded.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Formation of Man.

THIS is two-fold, and therefore capable of a double Conſideration: For the Firſt and Original Formation was the immediate Work of God's own Hand; and this was Supernatural and Miraculous. The Second is the Work of ordinary Generation, and lineal Deſcent, according to the common and eſtabliſhed Courſe of Nature.

According to that Image given us by *Moſes*, of the Creation of the World, which (for the nine Firſt Chapters of *Geneſis*, wherein we have an Account of the Firſt and Second Birth of the Univerſe, is, without diſpute, the boldeſt, nobleſt, and moſt ſatisfactory Syſtem, that ever was publiſh'd, we may obſerve ſeveral Preferences and Privileges

vileges peculiar to Man. For he was made b God, not only after all other living Creatures, as the moſt exquiſite and compleat; the Maſter and Superintendent over the reſt (ſo runs his Original Commiſſion, *Let him have Dominion over the Fiſhes of the Sea, and over the Fowls of the Air, and over the Beaſts of the Field*;) made the ſame Day with Land-Animals and Four-footed Beaſts; which bear the neareſt reſemblance to him of any other Animals: But made, after all the reſt was ended, as the laſt and finiſhing Stroke; the Seal with which it pleas'd Almighty God to cloſe up the whole Creation. And accordingly he hath given him ſuch a Bearing and Impreſs, as plainly ſpeak how nobly he is deſcended. * *The Brightneſs of the Divinity ſtrongly reflected upon him.* † *So that each Man is a ſort of God in Miniature*; expreſly ſaid to be *formed in His own Image, and after His Likeneſs.* Man is likewiſe not only the Creator, but the whole Creation in Little; the Univerſe in one ſmall Volume: Whence it is that Man is ſometime ſtyl'd a *Little World*; and by the ſame reaſon the World might be call'd a *Great Man.* He is, as it were, the Mediator of the different Parts of Nature, that Link of this long Chain, by which Angels and Brutes, Heaven and Earth, the Spiritual and Corporeal Creation, are ty'd together; and that void Space ſupply'd, which would make a wide and moſt unſeemly Gap in the Univerſe, if not fill'd up, and the Series thus contin'd, by a Creature partaking of both Extremes. In a word, This was the laſt Touch, the Maſter-peice, the Honour, and Ornament, nay, the Prodigy, and miraculous Production of Nature. Hence it is that God is repreſented to us as entring into Conſultation, and making this No-

Gen. 1.

* Signatum eſt in nos lumen vultûs tui.

† Exemplumque Dei quiſque eſt in Imagine parva.

ble

ble Creature with Deliberation and Thought. *God said, let us make Man.* And when he had formed Man, he is said to *have ended* all his Work, and to *have rested.* Nay, even that Rest it self, and the perpetual Commemoration of it, was for His Sake and Benefit. *The Sabbath was made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath,* says Truth it self. After this there was no new Thing form'd, till that most stupendous Miracle of Mercy, when *God made himself Man:* And this too, as we most truly confess, in one of our Creeds, was *for Us Men, and for Our Salvation.* From whence it is most evident, that God, in all his Actions and Dispensations, hath a constant and more particular regard to Mankind, that They have a Concern in the greatest Works of Providence, and that almost all God's Doings and Administrations are begun and ended with great Respect to Man's Advantage; and so as that the promoting of this, shall be the best and most effectual Means of accommodating and reducing all Things at last to Himself; and Our Happiness be made the proper Instrument of his Glory. Gen. 2. Mark 2.

2. Man was created naked, as being more beautiful than all the rest; The smoothness and delicacy of his Skin, the nice tempering of his Humours and Complexion, making a very advantageous Distinction in this respect, above any other Creature whatsoever.

3. The Body of Man is erect, and touches the Ground with but a very little part of it; but is set streight upright toward Heaven, where he may contemplate his Great Original, view and take Knowledge of his own Perfections, as in a Glass fitted for that purpose. The Plants are just the very reverse of all this: The Head and Root is bury'd in the Ground; and there they spread, and thence they get Improvement. Brutes are in a Position between these Two: But some of them ap-

proach nearer to the one, and ſome nearer to the other of thoſe Extremes. As to the true Cauſe of this upright Figure, it is plain, the rational Soul cannot be it: For the Crooked, the Lame, the Deformed, are ſo many living Inſtances, and undeniable Proofs to the contrary: Nor can it be the Back-bone form'd in a direct Line; for Serpents have the ſame: Nor is it ſurely the Exceſs of Natural and Vital Heat above other Creatures; for many other Animals equal, and ſome excel us in this reſpect; tho' I will not deny, but each of theſe may contribute ſomewhat toward it: (And that of the Serpent is the leſs Objection againſt the Form of the Back-bone; becauſe the crawling of that Creature upon his Belly, is expreſly declar'd to be a Puniſhment and laſting Reproach, for the Tempter's having aſſum'd this Form in working the Seducement and Ruin of our Firſt Parents.) But the very Truth is, Our great and mighty Maker and Maſter thought this the moſt convenient Poſture, and ſuch as beſt agreed with the Dignity and Pre-eminence of Humane Nature, particularly upon two Accounts.

Partly as a Mark of Diſtinction due to the Excellencies of the Humane Mind: Thus the old Poets repreſented it,

Ovid Met. Lib. 1.

* *A Creature of a more exalted kind*
Was wanting yet; and then was Man deſign'd:
Conſcious of Thought, of more capacious Breaſt.

And partly as an Enſign of Royalty; ſome Characters whereof Naturaliſts have obſerv'd in ſome other petty Principalities; ſuch as the Crown in the Dolphin, the Diadem in the Baſiliſk, the Lion's ſtately Mane, which ſerves as a Collar of Honour; the Colour and the Eyes in the Eagle, and the

* Sanctius his Animal, &c.

King

King among the Bees. But Man being veſted with an univerſal Monarchy, walks ſtately upon the Earth, like a Maſter in his own Houſe: He ſubdues and manages All either by fair means or by foul; captivates and brings them to his Hand by Force; or makes them tractable and tame by gentle and winning Uſage. Hence the ſame Poet proceeds,

For Empire form'd, and fit to rule the reſt,
He, while the mute Creation downward bend
Their Sight, and to their Earthy Mother tend,
Looks up aloft, and with erected Eyes
Beholds his own Hereditary Skies. Dryden.

His Body was form'd at firſt out of Virgin-Earth, of a red Complexion, from whence the proper Name of *Adam* was deriv'd: For the common Appellative of the Species in general is *Iſh.* And this well moiſten'd, was the common Materials of our Body. So again the Poet, 4. Adom Rufus. Heb. Gen. 2. 6, 7.

* *Earth the Wiſe Maker temper'd into Paſte,*
And mix'd with living Streams the God-like
Image caſt.

In all Reaſon, the Body muſt be before the Soul, as we naturally conceive Matter antecedent to its Form; as the Houſe muſt be fram'd and fitted up, before we can ſuppoſe an Inhabitant in it; and a Shop made and furniſh'd, before any Trade can be exercis'd there.

When This was prepar'd and done, the next thing in order was to animate this Body, by the Infuſion of a Soul, convey'd thither by Divine Inſpiration; For *God* (ſays *Moſes*) *breathed into him the Breath of*

* Mixtam fluvialibus undis
Finxit in Effigiem.

CHAP. II.

The firſt and general Diſtinction of Man.

1. *Firſt into Two Parts.* MAN, as if deſign'd to be all over Wonder, is a Creature made up of Ingredients vaſtly different, nay, directly oppoſite to one another: For what can be more ſo than thoſe two *Conſtituent Parts*, His *Soul*, and His *Body*? Look upon him with regard to the former of theſe, and He is a ſort of inferior Deity: Turn your Eyes down to the latter, and that Perſon which before you almoſt ador'd, you will now be tempted as much to loath and deſpiſe; For what is Man thus above a Beaſt? What but a Load of Corruption, and a Sink of Ill-Humours? And yet, this wonderful Diſparity notwithſtanding, theſe two ſo diſtant Parts are link'd together with ſuch amazing Art, and embrace each other ſo cloſe and kindly, that there is at the ſame time eternal Quarrels, and yet an inviolable Friendſhip between them. They cannot live together peaceably, and yet they cannot part contentedly: Like a Man that hath a Wolf by the Ears, and neither knows how to hold him, nor to let him go: So is each of theſe principal Parts in Man; and each may ſay to the other what the Poet did.

* *My Help and Hindrance, Health and Sickneſs; I Cannot live with thee; and without thee die.*

* Nec tecum poſſum vivere, nec ſine te.

But

But in regard one of theſe Parts admits of a Subdiviſion, by reaſon of a great and manifeſt Difference in the Faculties and Parts of this Soul of ours; the One Part Noble and Pure, Intellectual and Divine; the Other Mean, and Senſual, and Brutiſh: The beſt and moſt lively Repreſentation of Man, and the ſureſt Method of attaining to the Knowledge of him, ſeems to be the making of this Firſt Diviſion to conſiſt of Three Branches; and ſaying, That the *Conſtituent Parts* of Man are the *Mind*, the *Soul*, and the *Fleſh*. Of theſe the *Mind* and the *Fleſh* are the two diſtant Extremes, diſtant as Heaven and Earth are from each other; and the *Soul* hath a middle Station between both, like the Region where all the Storms and Meteors are form'd. The *Mind* is the moſt Heroick and exalted Part; the Breath, the Beam, the Image, the Efflux of the Divinity. This in the Man is as the King in the Body Politick; its Tendencies and Motions are to Heaven and Happineſs; and it breaths nothing but what is Pure, and Spiritual, and Divine. The *Fleſh*, quite contrary, is like the Dregs of the People, a vile and ſtupid, rude and tumultuous Mob, the Sediment and Lees, the Bruitiſh Part of Man; and this is perpetually diſpos'd to Evil, and ſunk into Matter. The *Soul*, in its middle State, like Perſons of Quality in a Kingdom, below the Beſt, and above the Worſt, is capable of inclining to Good or to Evil; and accordingly it is continually ſollicited on both ſides with great Importunity: The *Mind* and the *Fleſh* are ever ſtruggling to win it over, and, according to the ſide it takes, it becomes either a Spiritual and Virtuous, or a Vicious and Carnal Soul. This is the Seat of all thoſe Appetites and Paſſions implanted in us by Nature, which, conſider'd ſimply, and in themſelves, have neither Virtue nor Vice in them: Such, for Inſtance,

2. *Then into Three.*

ſtance, as Love, (that kind of it which we bear to our Friends and Relations) and Fear, ſuch as that of Shame, Compaſſion for Perſons in Diſtreſs, and Deſire of a good Reputation.

3. This Diſtinction deſerves the rather to be obſerv'd, becauſe it will aſſiſt us very much in the Knowledge of our ſelves, and give Men a true Idea of their Actions, which are otherwiſe apt to be miſunderſtood, by paſſing Judgments upon a ſlight and ſuperficial View, and attributing That to the Mind, which in reality proceeds from the Soul; nay, ſometimes from the Fleſh, and miſtaking That for Virtue, which is meerly the Effect of Nature, nay, the Inſtigation of Vice: For it is no breach of Charity to ſay, That a great many noble and brave Actions have been done in Heat and Paſſion, or elſe out of Humour, and Fancy, and natural Inclination; not ſo much with a Deſign to benefit *Others*, as to pleaſe *Our Selves*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Humane Body, and its Conſtituent Parts.

THE *Body* of Man is built and put together, ſo as to conſiſt of Parts vaſtly numerous, both Within and Without: And of theſe, by far the greater number, are either round, or of a Figure not far diſtant from it. 1.

Thoſe Within are of *Two* ſorts: Some diſpers'd all over the Body in large Quantities and great Numbers; as for Inſtance, The *Bones*, which are the Baſes and Pillars that ſupport this Structure: The *Muſcles*, which are the Inſtruments of Strength and Motion: The *Veins*, which are the Channels for conveying the Blood to the Heart; and the *Arteries*, which, like ſo many Pipes, feed them perpetually, by ſending it from the Heart to the ſeveral Parts of the Body. The *Nerves*, which are diſtributed by Pairs, and are the Inſtruments of Senſe and Motion, by vertue of the Animal Spirits contain'd in, and diffus'd by them. Of Theſe ſome are *ſoft*, which ſerve the Head, and aſſiſt our Sight, our Hearing, our Taſte, and our Speech: Others are *hard*, and theſe are laid along the *Spina Dorſi*, and ſo inſerted into the Muſcles; the *Tendons*, the *Ligaments*, and the *Cartilages*. There are likewiſe the Four Humours, the *Blood*; *Choler*, which provokes and hinders Obſtructions, throws off the Excrementitious Parts, and excites Cheerfulneſs: *Melancholy*, which whets the Appetite, and moderates ſudden Motions: *Phlegm*, which ſweetens the two Humours laſt mention'd, (Yellow and Black 2.

Black Choler) and checks inordinate Heats. The *Spirits*, which are a ſort of generous Fumes, evaporated by the Natural Heat, and Radical Moiſture; and of Theſe there are Three Degrees of Excellency, the Natural, the Vital, and the Animal. The *Fat*, which is the thickeſt and oylieſt Part of the Blood.

3. Other Parts are ſingle and determin'd to ſome particular Place. Now the whole Body may be conveniently enough divided into Four Stories or Apartments, which are in a manner ſo many ſeveral Shops or Workhouſes, wherein Nature keeps her Powers and Faculties employ'd. The Firſt and loweſt of Theſe, is that concern'd in the Propagation of the Species. The Second, and next above, is the *Entrails*, the *Bowels*, and *Stomach*, which in Situation inclines ſomewhat to the Left-Side; its Form is round, ſtreighter below than above, with two Orifices, one at the Top, to receive Nouriſhment; another at the Bottom, anſwering to the Guts, whoſe Buſineſs 'tis to diſcharge and empty it. This Veſſel receives, collects, mingles, and concocts the ſeveral ſorts of Nouriſhment taken in at our Mouths; and from thence works off a whitiſh Juice call'd *Chyle*, proper for the Suſtenance and Nutriment of the Body, and afterwards wrought over again more accurately in the *Meſeraick Veins*, thro' which it paſſes into the Liver. The *Liver* is hot and moiſt, lying ſomewhat more to the Right-Side. This is the proper Work-houſe of the Blood, the great Source of the Veins, the Seat of the Vegetative Faculty. Here the *Chyle* drawn off from the *Meſeraick Veins* is converted into Blood; which is taken into its Cavities by the *Vena Porta*, and diſcharg'd again by the *Vena Cava*, (which iſſues from the Convex Part,) and its Branches, in abundance of Ducts, like Rivulets or Streams from a Foun-

Fountain. In the Left-Side lies the *Spleen*, which receives the Diſcharge and Excrementitious Humours of the *Liver*. Then follow the *Reins* and the *Guts*, which hang all together in one Link, and, as according to the uſual Proportion, the Stature of a Man is ſeven times as much as the length of a common Foot; ſo the Bowels, when drawn out, are uſually ſeven times the length of a Man. Theſe Two former Apartments, which ſome contract into One, (tho' the Offices of them are ſo very different, as to juſtify the diſtinguiſhing them into Two) are, by many Authors, reſembled to the loweſt Region of the Univerſe; the Elementary one, which is the Seat of Generation and Corruption; and here that which goes by the Name of the *Concupiſcible Soul*, keeps its peculiar Reſidence.

The Third Story is compar'd to the Æthereal Region; and this is ſeparated from the former by the *Diaphragme*, as it is from That ſtill above it by the Throat: Here the *Iraſcible Soul* hath its Dwelling; and Here thoſe Parts in the Breaſt lie, which are termed the *Præcordia*; as the *Heart*, whoſe Situation is much about the Fifth Rib, and its Point a little diverting towards the Left Pap. This is exceeding Hot; the common Source of all the Arteries, by which it diſtributes the Vital Blood there concocted, thro' the whole Body, and in that Blood the Vital Spirits: And all this by a Diſcharge ſo ſenſible and ſtrong, that each Evacuation creates that Motion which we call the *Pulſe*. Here likewiſe are the *Lungs*, a ſoft, rare, and ſpongy Subſtance, ſupple and pliable in their Motions, like a Pair of Bellows; and thus they become the Inſtruments of Reſpiration: By which the Heart is cool'd with freſh Air, the Blood kept in perpetual Agitation; the Fumes and Excrements that oppreſs it are by this means diſcharg'd, and the Voice 4.

form'd

form'd by the Help of the *Aſpera Arteria*, or Wind-Pipe.

5. The Fourth and laſt Apartment, which anſwers to that higheſt Region, by way of Eminence call'd *Heaven*, is the *Head*; and this contains the *Brain*, a Subſtance cold and ſpongy, cover'd over, and wrap'd up into two Membranes, One hard and thick, which touches the Skull, and is term'd the *Dura Mater*: The Other more gentle and thin, contiguous to the former, and known by the Name of *Pia Mater*. From the Brain are deriv'd all the Nerves, and that Marrow which runs all along thro' the Back-bone. This Brain is the Seat of the Reaſonable Soul, the Source of Senſe and Motion, and of all thoſe Noble Spirits call'd the *Animal*, and extracted from the *Vital* Spirits, which, when ſent up thro' the Arteries into the Brain, are concocted, refin'd, wrought off, and ſubtiliz'd, by means of an infinite number of ſmall and exceeding fine Arteries, which, like ſo many little Threads plaited and interwoven with each other, make a ſort of Labyrinth, or double Net, (the *Rete Mirabile*) in which the Vital Spirit being kept, by perpetual Motion, backward and forward, is exalted and refin'd, till it becomes *Animal*, that is, ſublimated and ſpirituous to the laſt and higheſt Degree.

6. The outward Parts, and ſuch as ſtand in View, are either ſingle or double. If ſingle, they are plac'd in the midſt, as the *Noſe*, which ſerves us in Breathing and Smelling, and conveys Comfort and Refreſhment to the Brain; as it is alſo uſeful for the diſcharge of any Humours which happen to annoy the Head: And thro' this Paſſage the Air goes in and out, both for the Service of the Lungs below, and of the Brain above. The *Mouth*, which aſſiſts us in Speaking and Eating; and as the Uſes of it are different, ſo are the Parts likewiſe

wiſe which qualify it for thoſe Uſes. Without, there are the *Lips*; Within, you have the *Tongue*, extreamly nimble in Motion, and a nice Diſtinguiſher of Taſtes: The *Teeth*, to bruiſe and chew our Meat, and prepare it for the Stomach.

7. If the Parts of the *Head* be double and alike, they are plac'd collaterally, and anſwer exactly to each other: So do the *Eyes*, which, like Centinels or Spies, are poſted at the top of the Houſe, for the gaining a more advantageous Proſpect: Theſe are made up of wonderful Variety; each hath Three Humours, Seven Coats, Seven Muſcles, different Colours, and are form'd with infinite Artifice, and inexpreſſible Contrivance. They are indeed the nobleſt and moſt admirable Parts of any that appear outwardly in the Body: Their Beauty, their Uſefulneſs, the Sprightlineſs of their Motion, their ſtrange attractive Power in creating *Love*. Theſe are to the Face what the Face is to the reſt of the Body; the Life and Air of the Countenance it ſelf: And in regard they are exceeding tender, and nice, and valuable, therefore provident Nature hath cover'd and fenc'd them in very carefully on all ſides, with Skins, and Lids, and Brows, and Hair. The *Ears* are near upon the ſame level with the Eyes; Theſe being a ſort of Scouts to the Body, and Porters for the Mind; They receive, report, and diſtinguiſh Sounds, which naturally aſcend upward. The Approaches and Entries of this Organ of Senſe, are intricate and crooked, full of Windings and Turnings, to prevent the Air from ruſhing in too quick, and with too great Violence, by which means the Hearing might be extreamly impair'd, the Organ wounded and ſtrain'd, and the Sound more confus'd by its exceſſive Loudneſs.

To all theſe we muſt add the *Hands* and *Arms*; by which all manner of Workmanſhip is perform'd; and

and our *Legs* and *Feet*, which like Pillars ſupport this wonderful Edifice, and which, altho' not of the Trunk and main part of the Body, are yet Inſtruments of ſuch univerſal Uſe, that the Body can very hardly ſubſiſt without them; and it wou'd be very ungrateful not to allow Theſe an honourable Mention in this Account, whoſe Labours make Proviſion for the whole.

CHAP. IV.

1. THE *Body* of Man hath ſeveral very particular and diſtinguiſhing Qualities, which are Excellencies peculiar to himſelf, and ſuch as Beaſts have no Share at all in. The firſt and moſt remarkable ſeem to be theſe that follow: *Speech*, an *Erect Stature*, that Form and Port which hath been in ſo high Eſteem among Wiſe Men, nay, even with the *Stoicks*, the rigideſt and moſt abſtracted of all Philoſophers, that they declar'd it more eligible to be a *Fool* in Humane Shape, than to be *Wiſe* in the Form of a Brute; ſo preferring the Advantage of this Frame of Ours, before even *Wiſdom* it ſelf, and all the Beauties of the Soul without it: The *Hand*, which is a Prodigy in Nature, and no other Creature, not even the Ape it ſelf, hath any thing comparable to it; the natural *Nakedneſs* and *Smoothneſs* of our *Skin*; *Laughing* and *Crying*; the *Senſe* of being *Tickled*; the *Eye-Laſh* upon the lower Lid of the *Eye*; a viſible *Navel*; the *Point* of the *Heart* inclining toward the Left-Side; the *Knee*, which is ſaid to ſtand forward in no other Creature whatſoever; the *Palpitation* of the *Heart*; *Bleeding* at the *Noſe*, which you will think very odd, when you recollect that Men carry their Head upright, and Beaſts hang theirs down toward the Ground; *Bluſhing*

ing for *Shame*; *Looking Pale* for *Fear*; *Multiplying* at all times indifferently; not moving their *Ears*, which in other Animals is a Signification of their inward Paſſions: But Theſe are ſufficiently diſcover'd in Mankind by looking *Red* or *Pale*; and particular *Motions* of the *Eyes* and *Noſe*.

Others, tho' they are not altogether his own, and incommunicable, yet may be ſtyl'd Peculiar, in reſpect of the Degree and the Advantage he hath above others which partake of them: Such are the Number of his *Muſcles*, and vaſt Quantity of *Hair* upon his Head; the Nimbleneſs and wonderful Variety of *Motions* in his *Limbs* and *Joints*; the great *Abundance* of the *Brain*; the *Largeneſs* of his *Bladder*; the *Form* of the *Foot*, ſo very long forward, and ſo ſhort a Heel behind; the vaſt *Quantity*, the *Clearneſs* and the *Fineneſs* of the *Blood*; the *Eaſineſs* and *Agility* of the *Tongue*; the *Multitude* and unſpeakable *Variety* of his *Dreams*, ſo extreamly above all other Animals, that Man alone deſerves the Name of a *Dreaming Creature*; the *Faculty* of *Sneezing*: And, to be ſhort, the innumerable different *Motions* of his *Eyes*, and *Noſe*, and *Lips*. 2.

Some there are that have particular Countenances and Looks, Geſtures and Motions, which Art and Affectation have accuſtom'd them to; and ſome others who have theſe from Nature: They are particular indeed, and ſo diſtinguiſh them from other Men; but yet they are ſo natural, that the Perſons are not at all ſenſible of them when they do them; as *leaning the Head on one ſide, blowing the Noſe*, and a hundred other ſuch Geſtures. But ſome again there are common to all Mankind, ſuch as Reaſon and Contrivance hath nothing to do in, but they are the Effect of meer Natural Impulſe; as for Inſtance, that of *putting our Hands before us when we are falling*; which 3.

which all do without thinking; and ſome do it we ſee at a time when they cannot think at all.

CHAP. V.

Of the Advantages of the Body, &c.

1. *Health preferr'd.*

THE Excellencies of the Body are *Health*, *Beauty*, *Sprightlineſs*, *Agility*, *Vigour*, *Dexterity*, *Gracefulneſs* in *Motion* and *Behaviour*; but *Health* is infinitely above all; *Health* is the lovelieſt, the moſt deſirable, the richeſt Preſent in the Power of Nature to make: It juſtly challenges Precedence above all Temporal Bleſſings and Advantages. Not only *Learning* and *Knowledge*, *Wealth* and *Greatneſs*, and *Noble Blood*, but even *Wiſdom* it ſelf, in the Judgment of the ſevereſt Philoſophers, is inferior to it. This is the only Thing that deſerves our utmoſt Endeavours, our greateſt Hazards, the only one, which is worth the venturing our very Lives for the acquiring and Enjoyment of it: For indeed our very Lives without it are flat and inſipid, nay, they are troubleſom and painful; and Virtue and Wiſdom languiſh, and decay, and die, if this do not keep them in Beauty and Vigour, and Exerciſe. Suppoſe a Man of the greateſt Abilities that ever Humane Nature had, or is capable of, what Advantage would all this be to him in a Fit of an *Appoplex*, or a *Fever*, or any other violent Diſtemper? Certainly there can be but one Thing in the World more valuable, and that is *Probity*; for *Probity* is to the *Soul*, what *Health* is to the *Body*. Now, tho' this be commonly the Gift of Nature, and the Effect of an originally good Conſtitution;

a juſt

a juſt and proper Temperament of Humours, and *fit* Diſpoſition of Parts and Veſſels in the firſt Formation of the Body; yet, no doubt, can be made, but the Nouriſhment and Methods afterwards contribute very much to it alſo. The wholſomneſs of the Milk, and a good ſound Nurſe in the time of Infancy; and a regular way of Living, when Men come to their own Conduct and Management; Sobriety and Temperance of all kinds; moderate Exerciſe; Appetites well govern'd, and keeping one's ſelf from Melancholy, and all violent Paſſion and Diſorder of the Mind, do aſſiſt, preſerve, confirm, and finiſh what Nature and Complexion at firſt begun. *Sickneſs* and *Pain* are its Oppoſites and Enemies, and theſe are the ſoreſt, perhaps indeed (when all things are rightly conſider'd) the only Evils incident to Mankind: Concerning which more will be ſaid hereafter. But both in Enjoying and Preſerving this, the Brutes ſeem to have the better of us; for Man often ruins himſelf, and pays dear for his Frolicks and Exceſſes.

The next Advantage to This in Order and Dignity, is *Beauty*; which is a very great Recommendation, and of mighty Influence in Converſation and Society: This is the firſt thing that conciliates Mens Favour, and unites them to one another; and it is highly probable, that this was the firſt and principal Mark of Diſtinction, the firſt Conſideration, which gave Men any Preference and Authority over their Fellows. The Power and Efficacy of this Quality is indiſputable; every one ſees and feels it; no other Accompliſhment gains more Eſteem; none is ſo general and ſo commanding in all the Affairs of Humane Life. None are ſo barbarous, none ſo ſtupid or ſo obſtinate, as not to be ſmitten with it: It ſteps forward, and offers it ſelf to publick View; it beſpeaks our Fa- 2. *Beauty.*

vour, prepoſſeſſes our Fancy, ſeduces and bribes our Judgment, makes ſtrong and deep Impreſſions, and is full of Importunity, full of Authority. *Socrates* underſtood its Power full well, when he called it, a *ſhort Tyranny* upon the Mind; and *Plato*, when he term'd it the *Privilege of Nature*. For a Man can hardly forbear thinking, that the Perſons, to whom Nature hath been ſo partial in her Favours, and ſignaliz'd with charming and uncommon Graces, have a ſort of lawful in-born Power over us, and were made to command. Theſe, when they draw our Eyes and Obſervation, do inſenſibly attract our Hearts too, and faſten our Affections upon them, and captivate and enſlave us, whether we will or no. *Ariſtotle* ſays, that Superiority and Government belongs to the Comely; that They command our Veneration next after the Gods, as being the livelieſt and faireſt Copies of thoſe Glorious Originals; and that all but the Blind muſt and ought to be affected with their Excellencies. The Three great Princes, *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, and *Cæſar*, found This of mighty Importance, and made the Gracefulneſs of their Perſons turn to good account in their weightieſt Affairs; and ſo did *Scipio* more than any of them. *Handſom* and *Good*, have a great Affinity, and both the * *Greek* Language, and the Stile of Holy Scriptures, ſeem to expreſs this, by uſing one and the ſame Word to ſignify both. Several great Philoſophers found their Beauty ſerviceable, in their Study, and Acquiſition of Wiſdom; and to ſhew that this Recommendation is univerſal, it is not confined to Men only, but is valued, and of great Requeſt, even among Brutes.

* Καλὸς.

3. *Different ſorts of it.*

Now Beauty is of great Variety, and may be conſider'd in very different Reſpects. That which is proper to Men, conſiſts chiefly in a Majeſtick Form and goodly Stature: The other ſorts of Beauty are of a ſofter and more effeminate kind; they may be

be rather called Prettineſſes, and theſe are more peculiar to the Female Sex. In each of Theſe, there is a Subdiviſion; One, which is a fixed and laſting Beauty; and this conſiſts in having the Parts well proportion'd, and the Colours juſtly mix'd: A Body not ſwell'd nor bloated, and yet not ſo thin and meager neither, that the Nerves ſhould ſhew themſelves, or the Bones ſtart out of the Skin; but full of Blood, and Spirits, and well in Fleſh; the Muſcles high and clear; the Skin ſmooth and ſoft; the Complexion freſh and ruddy. The Other is a moveable and inconſtant Beauty, which may be term'd Gracefulneſs; and this conſiſts in a good Air, and becoming Motions; wherein all the Parts of the Body are concern'd, but the Eyes more ſo than any of the reſt. The former is as it were dead, when not attended with This, for all the Life and Action is in the latter. There are alſo ſome Beauties of a more maſculine, and rough, and fierce Air; and others of a ſofter, ſweet, tender and languiſhing kind.

4. *Of the Face.*

The Beauty and Excellence of the Body, is more peculiarly ſeated in the Face; and our Meaſures of it are chiefly taken from thence. The lovelieſt Thing in the Perſon of a Man is his Soul; and in the Body of a Man it is his Face; For this is as it were the Abſtract, the Copy and Image of the Soul. It is a piece of Natural Heraldry, where all the Advantages and Coats of Pretence are diſtinctly Quarter'd and Blazon'd; and This, like a Scutcheon, is plac'd upon the Front of the Houſe, that you may know whoſe Seat it is, and who, and of what Quality the Perſon is that owns and inhabits it. For the Face is an Abridgement of the whole Man; and this ſeems to be the Reaſon, why Art, which always follows Nature, and treads in her Steps, troubles it ſelf little farther in Paintings and Carvings, than to give you an exact Repreſentation of

the Face from the Life; and leaves the reſt of the Picture or Statue to the Artiſt's own Diſcretion.

5. *Some particular Properties of the Face.* Now there are ſeveral very great Niceties, particularly obſervable in Humane Faces; ſuch as may very truly be term'd Properties of the Face, ſince neither Brutes, nor any other Part of our own Bodies, can pretend to the like. And indeed, for want of Theſe, Brutes can ſcarce be truly ſaid to have any Face. *Firſt*, The great Number and Variety of diſtinct Features, and the ſeveral Faſhions of them. For thoſe of Beaſts conſiſt of much fewer; The Cheeks, the Chin, and the Forehead, are there all in one, and not diſtinguiſh'd like Ours; nor have they the Figure of Ours at all. *Secondly*, The wonderful Diverſity of Colours; for in the Eye it ſelf, there is a mixture of Black, and White, and Green, and Blue, and Red, and Cryſtalline. *Thirdly*, The regular Symmetry of the Parts, whereby the Proportions anſwer to each other. And this is obſervable in the Organs of Senſe, being double, and exactly correſponding; and in the different Relations, which the reſt bear mutually, in length and breadth. Thus the largeneſs of each Eye, meaſuring at the top of the Socket, gives you the Wideneſs of the Mouth; the Breadth of the Forehead is the ſame with the Length of the Noſe; and that again is of the ſame Dimenſion with the Lips and the Chin below. *Fourthly*, The wonderful Diverſity of Faces, ſo nice, ſo aſtoniſhing; that among ſo many Millions of People, there are not two to be found exactly, and all through alike. This is ſuch a Maſter-Piece, as all Nature cannot furniſh ſuch another Inſtance of. And this deſerves a little more particular Attention; becauſe it ſhews the Goodneſs, as well as the Power and Wiſdom of our Adorable Maker, upon the Account of the mighty Conſequence and Benefit ſuch Variety is of to Humane Society. Firſt, In regard

regard it ſupplies us with Marks of Diſtinction, ſufficient to know one another aſunder by. For infinite and inconceiveable Miſchiefs muſt needs follow, no leſs indeed than utter disbanding and breaking off all Commerce and Communication, if Mens Faces were ſo like, as to make us liable perpetually to miſtake one Perſon for another: A Daughter for a Wife, an Enemy for a Friend; and thus a ſecond and worſe *Babel* would follow. Were there no Reſemblance at all indeed, then Men would not be diſtinguiſhed from Brutes; but were there not ſome Unlikelineſs too, then any one Man could not be diſcern'd from any other Man. And, which is yet more wonderful, Nature hath dealt theſe Differences ſo artificially, as to ſatisfy all Parties; and found out a Secret, that thoſe who are moſt unlike ſhould be highly contented themſelves, and ſhould pleaſe others alſo. For the Matter is ſo order'd, that there is no Perſon but is approved, and thought very well to paſs, by ſome Body or other; and the Faces themſelves do not diſagree more than Peoples Fancies, and their Inclinations to ſeveral ſorts of That which they call *Beauty*. A *Fifth* Quality peculiar to Humane Faces, is the Dignity and Honour of them, reſulting from the oval Figure, the ſtreight Poſition, the Elevation above the Body, their Direction upwards to Heaven, their naked Graces, without any Covering of Shag, or Hair, or Feathers, or Scales, as Beaſts and Birds have. A *Sixth* is the Air of the Face, a pleaſant agreeable Sweetneſs; ſo inſinuating, ſo engaging, that (as was ſaid before) Hearts are immediately caught, and our Wills and Affections violently born away with it. In a Word, The Face is the Throne of Beauty and of Love; Seat of Smiles, and of Kiſſes, two Things peculiar to Mankind; agreeable and innocent, when uſed as Nature intended them, for true and affectionate

Expreſſions of Civility and Friendſhip, and Kindneſs, and a good Underſtanding between Man and Man, and once a Ceremony uſed in the moſt Solemn Religious Aſſemblies. *Laſtly*, This is adapted to all manner of Changes in the Temper; it expreſſes all the inward Motions and Paſſions of the Soul. Joy and Grief, Love or Hatred, Envy and Malice, Shame and Anger, Indignation and Jealouſy, and the reſt of them, immediately betray themſelves here. This is like the Hand to the Watch, which tells us the Hours and the Minutes, while all the Wheels and Springs, by which thoſe Movements are made, lie within and out of Sight. And as the Air receives all Colours, and all Alterations of the Weather, and ſo lets us know what Changes are coming: So may it be ſaid of the Countenance too. * *The Body* (ſays one) *both covers and diſcovers the Mind, and you may read the Man in his Face.*

A Deſcription of the Beauty of a Face.

6. The *Beauty* of a *Face* conſiſts in a large, ſquare, well-ſpread Forehead; clear and unclouded; even ſmall and fine Eye-brows; a well cut, brisk and ſparkling Eye; a ſtreight well-proportion'd Noſe; a little Mouth, with red Lips; high full Cheeks with a pleaſant Dimple in Smiling; a round compact Ear; and all over Theſe a lively Complexion of good wholſome White and Red. But yet this Deſcription is not allowed Univerſally; for ſeveral Nations and Climates have ſeveral Opinions of *Beauty*. The *Indians* particularly eſteem That the moſt exquiſite *Beauty*, which We look upon to be the greateſt *Deformity*; a Tawny Complexion, large thick Lips, a flat wide Noſe, and Teeth ſtain'd with black or red; long hanging Ears; a low hairy Forehead; vaſt pendulous Breaſts, ſo large, that they may fling them over their Shoul-

* Corpus animum tegit & detegit: In facie legitur Homo.

ders,

ders, and give Suck to the Children at their Backs; and theſe are ſo much in Eſteem, ſo deſirable Qualities, that they uſe all poſſible Art and Induſtry, to bring themſelves to this Shape. But what need we go to the *Indies*, when our very next Neighbours differ ſo much in their Notions of the Matter? For the *Spaniards* think none Beauties but the Lean and Slender; and the *Italians*, on the other hand, prefer the well-ſet, the ſtrong, and the plump; and think there can be no ſuch thing as *Handſomeneſs* without theſe Qualifications. And indeed in every Country ſome are for the ſoft, the weak, the tender, and the little Women; and others for the tall, the ſtrong, the maſculine, and bolder Beauties.

7. *Beauty of Body and Mind.*

Now this outward *Gracefulneſs* of the *Body*, and more particularly that of the *Face*, ought in all reaſon to be an Indication and certain Evidence of the inward *Beauties* of the *Soul*. (And theſe conſiſt in an Evenneſs of Temper, a Regularity of Opinions and Judgments, ſteadily maintain'd, and a Firmneſs and Conſtancy of Mind reſulting from hence.) For ſurely nothing is more agreeable to Nature, than the mutual Relation and Conformity of the Body and the Mind. And where this Correſpondence and Similitude does not appear, we are to conclude, that ſome Accident hath unfortunately interpos'd, and broken the ordinary Courſe of Nature; as it very often happens, and is very apparent that there does. For the Milk of a baſe Nurſe, the Firſt Advances in Education and Inſtruction, the Company they frequent, and ſundry other Things, may leave a ſtrong Tincture behind, work mighty Changes in the Natures and Humours of Men, and give them Diſpoſitions quite different from thoſe they were born with, either toward Virtue, or to Vice. *Socrates* acknowledg'd, that the Deformity of his Body teſtified againſt him for the Deformity of his Soul; aud that the Evidence

it gave was true; but that by Study and Pains added to a good Education, he had amended his Mind. The Air and Face of a Man is no good Rule, and very dangerous it is to depend upon it either way. But they who have an honeſt engaging Look, ought to ſuffer double Puniſhment, if they belye it in their Actions. For they betray and deceive People by their fair Promiſes, which Nature hath written in their Foreheads, and which they themſelves make ſo ill a Uſe of, as to trapan and cheat the World with them.

It were well indeed, if we would follow *Socrates*'s Advice upon this Occaſion, as all of us ought to do, in becoming more nice and attentive in obſerving and conſidering curiouſly the Beauties of Mens Minds; and in taking the ſame Satisfaction in beholding thoſe Charms, as we do in gazing upon theſe of the Body; and ſo to come up cloſe to them, contract an Alliance and Friendſhip with them; and unite our ſelves to them inſeparably, by admiring, loving, imitating them with all imaginable Affection and Zeal. This were an Object worthy our Paſſion indeed. But alas! all People are not qualified for it, none but Philoſophical Eyes can behold and diſcover Thoſe Graces, and none but pure and refin'd Souls can take Delight in the Love and Practice of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Apparel for the Body.

MAny probable Reaſons may be given that may induce us to believe the way of going Naked, which is ſtill continued in a conſiderable Part of the World, to have been the Original, and once Univerſal Mode of all Mankind, how odd and ſingular ſoever it may ſeem to Us at this Day. The other of Cloathing ſeems the Effect of Art and Invention, contriv'd to aboliſh Nature upon Pretence of mending it; as fantaſtical People ſhut out the Sun, and enlighten their Rooms at Mid-day with Tapers and Candles. And ſurely this is not ſo much the Dictate of Neceſſity as ſome would make us believe. For it is by no means to be imagin'd, that Nature, which hath been ſo liberal in all her Proviſions for every other Creature, and particularly in Point of warm and convenient Covering, hath dealt ſo much worſe by Man, than all the reſt, as to leave him the only indigent Child ſhe hath, and in ſuch Need of Help from other Hands, that he muſt ſtarve and periſh preſently, if he be not ſuccour'd, aud ſupply'd with it. This is one of the Reproaches which fanciful and melancholy People caſt upon Nature, when they call her a hard and cruel Step-Mother to Mankind; but that Charge againſt her is falſe and unjuſt. Upon the Suppoſition, that Men had from the Beginning been all accuſtom'd to Clothes, it is not eaſy to conceive how any Number of them ſhould ever take up a Fancy of throwing them aſide again, and going Naked; both becauſe a Regard

to

to their Health, which muſt needs have ſuffer'd extreamly by ſo diſadvantageous an Exchange, and a Regard to Modeſty and Shame too, muſt in all reaſon have perſuaded the contrary. And yet we ſee, this is ſtill the Faſhion in ſeveral Nations, which is a great Preſumption of its having once been the Faſhion of all Mankind naturally. For what can be alledg'd for the contrary Opinion? Will you urge the Two common Reaſons, that Clothes were always neceſſary to cover our Shame, and to defend us againſt the Cold? (I mention not the Heat, becauſe it is not likely they were taken up for a Protection againſt That) Theſe Arguments are plainly inſufficient. Look back to the Primitive State of our Firſt Anceſtors, and you will find that Nature never taught them to be out of Countenance at their Nakedneſs. The Diſtinctions of this kind are of a later Date; and it was Guilt firſt, and then Cuſtom, that introduced Shame. Beſides, even thoſe very Parts, which we take Pains to conceal, Nature hath been before-hand with us, in keeping out of Sight. But if we ſhould allow this for one Reaſon of Cloathing, yet the Argument can only concern the Covering of theſe Parts. The Conſequence of it cannot poſſibly extend to the reſt; and thus we ſee in ſome Countries ſome Perſons of better Condition, do conſult their own and the Beholder's Modeſty, without troubling themſelves for any farther Garments; tho' the Common People in the ſame Places go ſtark naked. Some have thought it a Diſparagement, that Man, who challenges a Precedence and Authority over all Things here below, ſhould not dare to ſhew himſelf to the World, as God Almighty made him; but tho' that Thought be liable to ſome Exception, yet I think truly it cannot be for his Honour, to think himſelf enrich'd with the Spoils of his Subjects; to be proud of the Ornaments they furniſh

furniſh him with, and value himſelf, or diſeſteem others, according as he poſſeſſes, or they want theſe poor Advantages, (if they are fit to be call'd Advantages even in the laſt and loweſt Degree.) And yet this is a Vanity ſo prevailing, that, as if Reaſon could not urge enough to make People aſhamed of it, Religion had interpos'd her Authority too, to forbid Affectation and Pride in tricking and ſetting off our Perſons, and teaches us, that we ſhould never think our ſelves truly adorn'd, except when the virtuous and ſhining Qualities of the Mind render us agreeable and lovely in the Eyes of God and Man. Theſe are the Jewels, theſe the Ornaments which wou'd moſt effectually repair that Shame which all our outward Dreſſes were ſo induſtriouſly contriv'd to cover.

As to that other Argument, which proceeds upon Cold, and ſome other Things that render Apparel neceſſary, either to particular Perſons of a Conſtitution more feeble, or to all that dwell under one Climate, ſharper than the reſt; we know full well, that ſome go naked, and others dreſt, in the very ſame Latitude, and the very ſame Air; and there is never a one of us but expoſes the tendereſt Part about him to all Weathers continually: Which gave occaſion to that Reply of a ſturdy Beggar, who, when he was ask'd how he cou'd endure to go naked in the midſt of Froſt and Snow, made only this Anſwer, *That other People cou'd bear their Faces naked, and he was Face all over.* Hiſtory tells us of ſeveral very great Perſons who went conſtantly bare-headed, as *Maſiniſſa*, and *Cæſar*, and *Hannibal*, and *Severus*: And ſome Nations there are, who being accuſtom'd to no Defence for their Bodies at other Times, never trouble themſelves for any when they go into the Wars, but engage in the hotteſt Action, whole Armies of naked Men together. *Plato* thinks it adviſeable for the

the Health never to cover either the Head or the Feet at all. *Varro* pretends, that when Men were commanded to ſtand bare in the Temple of the Gods, and in the Preſence of the Magiſtrates; it was not only the Reſpectfulneſs of the Ceremony, but the Wholſomneſs of it, that the Law had regard to; ſince Men by this Means harden'd their Bodies againſt the Injuries of Wind and Weather, and ſtrengthen'd themſelves, while they paid a due Reverence to their Superiors.

In a Word, abſtracting from what Revelation hath taught us, and looking at Nature only, I ſhou'd make no doubt but the Contrivances of Hutts and Houſes, and other Shelters againſt the Violence of the Seaſons, and the Aſſaults of Men, was a much more ancient Inſtitution than that of Cloathing; and there ſeems to have been more of Nature and univerſal Practice in it; for we ſee that Beaſts and Birds do the ſame thing. The Care and Proviſion of Victuals was unqueſtionably of far greater Antiquity than either of the former, for this ſeems to have been one of the firſt Impulſes and Dictates of Nature; the Neceſſities and Appetites whereof return ſo thick upon us, that it is not eaſy to ſuppoſe Man cou'd ſubſiſt at all without this Care. But of theſe Matters we ſhall have other Opportunities to treat more fully, when we come to give Rules for the Uſe and Regulation both of *Food* and *Raiment*, hereafter.

Book III. *In the Virtue of Temperance.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Soul *in general.*

WE are now entring upon a Subject of all others the moſt difficult and nice; One which has been treated of, and particularly canvaſs'd by the greateſt Philoſophers, and moſt penetrating Wits of all Ages and Countries: *Ægyptian, Greek, Arabian,* and *Latin* Authors; but yet ſo that their Opinions have been infinitely various, according to the ſeveral Nations from whence they ſprung, the Religions they embrac'd, the Profeſſions in which they had been educated, and the Reaſons that offer'd themſelves to their Thoughts: So that how far ſoever each Man might ſatisfy his own Mind, yet they have never been able to come to any general good Agreement or certain Determination in the Matter. Now the main Points in Controverſy upon this occaſion, are thoſe *Ten* that follow: What may be the *Definition* of the Soul; What its real *Eſſence* and *Nature*; Its *Faculties* and *Actions*; Whether there be *One* or *More* Souls in a Man; Whence its *Original*; What the *Time* and *Manner* of its entring the Body; the *Manner* of its *Reſidence*; the *Seat* where it dwells; the *Sufficiency* to exerciſe the ſeveral *Functions* belonging to it; and *laſtly*, Its *End*, or *Separation* from the *Body*.

1. *Its Definition.*

Firſt of all: It is exceeding hard to give an accurate *Definition* of the Soul, or be able to ſay exactly *What it is*. And this in truth is the Caſe of all Forms in general; and we cannot well conceive how it ſhou'd be otherwiſe with Things which are Relative, and have no proper and independent Sub-

Subſiſtence of their own, but are only *Parts* of ſome *Whole*. Hence, without queſtion, it hath come to paſs, that the Definitions of it put abroad have been ſo many, and at the ſame time ſo infinitely various too, that not any one of them hath been receiv'd without Claſhing or Contradiction. *Ariſtotle* hath rejected no leſs than Twelve among the Philoſophers who had written before him; and yet he hath found but little better Succeſs with That of his own, which he labour'd (but in vain) to eſtabliſh in the room of them.

Nothing can indeed be more eaſy and obvious than to determine what the *Soul is not*. We dare be confident that it is not *Fire*, *Air*, nor *Water*, nor a *Mixture* and due Temperament of the Four Elements together, the Qualities or the Humours nicely adjuſted: For This is a thing in perpetual Flux and Uncertainty; the Animal ſubſiſts and lives without it: And beſides, This is manifeſtly an *Accident*, whereas the *Soul* is a *Subſtance*. To this we may add, that *Minerals*, and ſeveral *inanimate Creatures*, have a Temperament of the Four Elements, and prime Tactile Qualities, and ſtill continue Inanimate notwithſtanding. Nor can the *Soul* be the *Blood*; for ſeveral Inſtances may be given of Animated and Living Creatures, without any Blood at all belonging to them; and ſeveral Creatures die without loſing one Drop of Blood. Nor is it the *Principle* and *Firſt Cauſe* of Motion in us; for ſeveral Inanimate Things impart Motion: So does the Loadſtone to the Iron; the Amber to the Straw; Medicines, and Drugs, and Roots of Trees, when dry'd, and cut to pieces, draw and create very ſtrong Motions. Nor is it the *Act*, *Life*, *Energy*, or *Perfection*, (for *Ariſtotle*'s Term *Entelechia* hath been interpreted in all theſe differing Senſes) for all this cannot be the very *Eſſence* of the *Soul* it ſelf, but only the *Operation* and *Effect* of it, as *Living*, *Seeing*,

Seeing, and *Underſtanding* are plain and proper Actions of the *Soul*. Beſides, admitting this Notion, it would follow from thence, that the *Soul* were not a *Subſtance*, but an *Accident* only, that it could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without that Body, whoſe Act and Perfection it is, any more than the Roof of a Houſe can ſubſiſt as ſuch, without the Building which it covers and is ſupported by, or a Relative without its Correlate. In a word, When we expreſs our ſelves after this manner, we only declare what the *Soul* does, and what it is with reſpect to ſomething elſe; but we pronounce nothing of its proper and abſtracted Nature, or what it is in it ſelf.

Now, tho' Things are thus far clear and eaſy, yet when we go farther the Caſe alters extreamly. A Man may ſay indeed that the *Soul is an Eſſential Life-giving Form*, which diſtributes this Gift as the Receiver is capable of it. To the Plant it imparts Vegetation; to the Brute Senſe, which includes and contains Vegetation under it; and to *Man* Intellectual Life, in which both the former are imply'd, as the Greater Numbers comprehend the Leſs; and as in Figures, a Pentagon includes a Quadrangle, and That again a Triangle. I rather chooſe to term this the *Intellectual Life* than the *Rational*, (which is compriz'd and underſtood by it, as the Leſs is within the Greater) and that particularly in deference to thoſe many renown'd Philoſophers, who have allow'd *Reaſon* in ſome Senſe, and ſome Degree, even to the Brutes; but not Any of them have ever gone ſo high, as to attribute the *Intelligent Faculty* to Them; and therefore I take *Intellectual Life* to be a more unexceptionable, more diſtinguiſhing Character of the Humane Soul than the other, which ſome have thought not entirely and peculiarly our own. The *Soul* in the mean while is not the Principle and Original of Life: (This, in my Judgment, is a Term

Term due to none but the Sovereign Author of our Being, *the Lord and Giver of Life*) but it is the Internal Cauſe (if you pleaſe) of Life and Motion, of Senſe and Underſtanding: It moves the Body, but is not moved it ſelf; as on the contrary, the Body is moved, but moves not; I ſay, it moves the Body, but it moves not it ſelf; for tho' Self-Motion be in ſome Senſe a Character by which we expreſs the Freedom of the Humane Will, yet, conſidering the depending State of a Creature, I rather forbear a Term, which, in its ſtrict and moſt exalted Senſe, cannot, in my Apprehenſion, belong to any but God himſelf: For whatſoever moves it ſelf thus, muſt be Abſolute and Eternal; and that Power of moving the Body which the Soul hath, it hath not from it ſelf, but from Above.

2. *Its Nature.* The next Enquiry concerns the *Eſſence* or *Nature* of the *Soul*, (the Humane one I mean; for as to That of Brutes, little doubt is to be made but this is Corporeal and Material, conceiv'd, born, and bred with *Matter*, and corruptible with it too) and this is no ſuch inconſiderable Diſpute as ſome perhaps may imagine; for ſome have affirm'd it to be *Corporeal*; others again, contend as vehemently, that it is *Incorporeal*: Which Opinions we will beg the Reader's leave to compare a little, and how wide ſoever they may ſeem, we'll try if it be not poſſible to reconcile them. The Arguments which have perſuaded Men to believe the Soul *Corporeal*, are ſuch as follow. Firſt, The Authority of the moſt Eminent Philoſophers and Divines; and of the latter, no leſs than *Tertullian*, *Origen*, St. *Baſil*, *Gregory*, *Auguſtine*, and *Damaſcene*, who all admit, That the Spirits, both Good and Bad, which are entirely ſeparated from *Matter*, are yet *Corporeal*; and if They be ſo who have nothing to do with *Matter*, how much more probable is this Notion

of

of the Humane Soul, which is in conſtant Dealings with, and cloſely united to it? The Ground of their determining theſe Things to be Corporeal, is a Notion, that All Creatures of what kind ſoever, when compar'd with God, are Groſs, Corporeal, and Material; and that God Himſelf alone is ſo excellent a Subſtance as to be Incorporeal; and therefore every Spirit is Body, and of a Corporeal Nature. To this of *Authority* may be added another Argument drawn from *Reaſon*. All that is contain'd in this Finite World, muſt needs be Finite it ſelf; limited in Virtue and in Eſſence; circumſcrib'd by ſome Superficies, confin'd within ſome Place; all which are the true and natural Conditions of a bodily Subſtance. God alone is every where; He alone is Infinite, and therefore He alone is Incorporeal. The common Diſtinctions of a *Circumſcriptive*, *Definitive*, *Effective* Preſence, ſeem to be meerly verbal, and to carry very little or no Force at all: For ſtill it is undeniably certain, That *Spirits* are in a Place after ſuch a manner, that at the ſame time they are there, they are not elſewhere too, nor can be in more Places than one at once. They are not in Infinite Space, nor in extream Little, nor extreamly Large Room, but to take up ſo much as is proportionable to their Size, and equal to their Finite Subſtance. And, did not the Caſe ſtand thus with them, how cou'd Spirits change their Place and Reſidence? How cou'd they aſcend or deſcend, which yet the Scripture frequently takes notice of their doing? For, if Incorporeal, they muſt be incapable of Motion, Indiviſible, and ſo every where indifferently. Since then 'tis evident they change their Places, is not this ſufficient to convince us that they are capable of *Motion* and *Diviſion*, ſubject to *Time*, and the Succeſſions of it, which is requiſite for the adjuſting of Motion,

See Advertiſements.

and meaſuring the Paſſages and mutual Diſtances from one Place to another? All which are Qualities belonging to a *Body*. But now, in regard that the generality of People, who ſee not to the bottom of theſe Diſtinctions, by the Word *Corporeal*, form to themſelves an Idea of ſomething Viſible and Palpable, and ſo groſs as muſt affect our Senſes: Since they have no Notion of pure and ſubtil Air, nor entertain any Conception of Fire abſtracted from Fuel and Flame; ſince, I ſay, they cannot perſuade themſelves that Things ſo ſubtiliz'd are Corporeal, hence it hath grown into Uſe, to ſay, That *Spirits* in a State of Separation, and Humane Souls in the Body, are not *Corporeal Subſtances*: Nor are they ſo indeed in this groſs and vulgar Senſe; for they are of an Inviſible Subſtance, whether that be *Airy*, as many Philoſophers and Divines have perſuaded themſelves; or whether *Cæleſtial*, and yet more refin'd, as ſome *Hebrew* and *Arabian* Authors, who call Heaven and Spirit both by the ſame Name, of an Eſſence proper to Immortality; or whether it conſiſt of a Subſtance ſtill more ſubtil and purify'd than even the Æthereal or Cœleſtial it ſelf; but ſtill Corporeal nevertheleſs, ſince ſubject to all thoſe Conditions of a Body, of being confin'd and circumſcrib'd within a certain Space; capable of Motion, and meaſurable in that Motion, by the ſucceſſive Periods of Time. Again, were they not *Corporeal*, they muſt be impaſſible; for which way cou'd they ſuffer as we find they do? The *Soul* of *Man* manifeſtly receives, and is affected with, Satisfaction and Uneaſineſs, Pleaſure and Pain; and as deeply as ſenſibly touch'd with theſe Things in her Turn, as the Body is from her Dictates and her Paſſions. Again, She is likewiſe wrought upon and diſtinguiſh'd by Good and Ill Qualities, Virtues and Vices, Affections and Inclinations of all ſorts: All which are Acci-

Accidents; and as ſuch require ſome Bodily Subſtance for their Support and Subſiſtence. Laſtly, All *Souls*, whether ſeparated or united, Evil Angels and Spirits, as well as Men, are obnoxious to Puniſhment and Torture: From whence it muſt follow that they are *Corporeal*; For nothing can be in a Condition of enduring Torment, which is not ſo; and ſo the Subject of Accidents is one particular Property of a Bodily Subſtance.

See Advertiſement *at the End of this* Chapter; *and alſo That at the Concluſion of the* Tenth.

3. *Its Faculties and Operations.*

Now the *Soul* abounds exceedingly in Faculties and Powers, as many almoſt as the *Body* hath Members. Some of theſe ſhe exerts in Plants; a greater number yet in Beaſts; but vaſtly more in Mankind: Such as the Vital, Locomotive, Appetitive, Attractive, Collective; the Retentive, Concocting, Digeſtive, Nutritive; thoſe of Growing, Sprouting, Hearing, Seeing, Taſting, Smelling, Speaking, Reſpiration, Generation, Cogitation, Reaſoning, Contemplating, Aſſenting, Diſſenting, Remembring, Judging: All which Faculties are by no means Parts of the *Soul*; for at that rate we muſt admit the *Soul* to be capable of *Diviſion*, and made up of nothing but *Accidents* and *Properties*; but they are the Natural Qualities and Powers of it. Upon theſe follow the Actions or Operations of the *Soul*, which muſt needs, in order of Nature, be after thoſe Faculties that qualify it for the Performance of them. And thus the great *Dionyſius*, whoſe Doctrine in this Particular is univerſally aſſented to, obſerves, That in Spiritual Creatures there are Three Things to be conſider'd; The *Eſſence*, the *Faculty*, and the *Operation*. By the laſt of theſe, which is the *Action*, we are led to the Knowledge of the *Faculty*; and from the *Faculty* again we are carry'd on to the *Eſſence*. Now we

muſt take notice by the way, that the Actions may be obſtructed, ſuſpended, or a final Stop, and abſolute Ceſſation put to them, without any Prejudice at all being done by this means to the *Soul*, or its Faculties: As the Skill and Faculty of Painting ſhall remain entire in the Artiſt, tho' his Hands be ty'd up, or he be otherwiſe diſabled from exerting that Skill. But, upon a Suppoſal that the *Faculties* themſelves periſh, the *Soul* muſt periſh with them; as the Fire can be no longer Fire, if we ſuppoſe the Faculty of Warming to be taken away from it.

4. *Its Unity.* The *Nature* and *Eſſence* of the *Soul* being thus in ſome meaſure explain'd, there is another Enquiry which offers it ſelf to our Conſideration, and That indeed of very great Intricacy and Importance both, which is, Whether each Animal (but more eſpecially each Man) have a *Complication of ſeveral Souls*, or but *One* only. Concerning which a multitude of Arguments have been offer'd on all Sides, and great Variety of Opinions have grown; but they may, I think, be reduc'd to Three. Some of the *Greek* Philoſophers, and almoſt all the *Arabian*, after Their Examples, have fancy'd that there is but *One Immortal Soul*, not only in each diſtinct Individual Perſon, but in all Mankind, and diſtributed throughout the whole Species in general. The *Ægyptians* are in the other Extream, and conceive that each Perſon hath *ſeveral Souls* totally and eſſentially diſtinct from one another. That every Brute hath *Two* of theſe, and every Man hath *Three*. *Two* of which (the Vegetative and Senſitive) are Mortal; and the *Third* (which is the Intellectual) Immortal. The Third Opinion lies between theſe Two, and as it is more moderate, ſo hath it likewiſe been more generally entertain'd than either of the former; for moſt Nations ſeem to be agreed, That however Men may have been oblig'd to con-

conſider the ſeveral Faculties diſtinctly, yet there *is* in reality no actual Plurality, and but *One Soul* in each Perſon, which extends to all thoſe Operations aſſign'd to ſeveral.

The *Firſt* of theſe Opinions I ſhall ſay nothing to, thinking it too abſurd, and too generally exploded, to ſtand in need of any particular Confutation.

The *Second*, which aſſerts a *Plurality of Souls* in each Animal, and particularly in each Man, muſt be confeſs'd on the one hand exceeding marvellous, if not altogether incredible and abſurd; For what Philoſophy will allow us in giving ſeveral Eſſential Forms to one and the ſame Thing? But then, on the other hand, it muſt be acknowledg'd too, that this Notion makes the Way fair and ſmooth for that of the *Intellectual Soul's* being Immortal: Becauſe upon a Suppoſition of *Three diſtinct Souls*, there is no great Difficulty or Inconvenience in admitting that *Two* of theſe may die, without at all impairing the Immortality of the *Third*: Whereas the *Unity* of the *Soul* ſeems to make War upon its Immortality: For which way can we conceive the ſame Thing to be Mortal in one Part, and Immortal in another? Which yet ſeems to have been *Ariſtotle's* Notion. Certainly there is an abſolute Neceſſity of concluding, That it is All of a piece in this reſpect, and either entirely Mortal or Immortal throughout; which yet are each of them loaded with very abſurd Conſequences: For the former Concluſion is deſtructive of all Religion and ſound Philoſophy; and the Latter advances the Brutes to the ſame Dignity, the ſame Immortal State with our Selves. But the moſt general, and, in my poor Judgment, the moſt probable Opinion is, That each Animal hath but *One Soul*; but *One* in Subſtance; That This is the Cauſe of Life, and the Univerſal Source of

all the Actions perform'd by him; That tho' it have but *One Eſſence* entire and undivided, yet is it adorn'd, enrich'd, diverſify'd with a vaſt number of Faculties and diſtinct Powers wonderfully different, and ſome contrary to each other; according to the vaſt Variety of Inſtruments made uſe of by it, the Veſſels in which they are contain'd, and the Objects they are employ'd about: Thus the *Soul* exerciſes what we call the Senſitive and Reaſonable Faculties more peculiarly in the *Brain*; there being the Inſtruments adapted to ſuch Operations: The Vital and Iraſcible in the *Heart*; the Natural and Vegetative, (which are ſometimes diſtinguiſh'd by the Concupiſcible) in the *Liver*: Theſe are the Chief and moſt Material Diſtinctions. But theſe ſo many and ſo different Operations, Inſtruments, and Faculties, no more impair the *Unity* of the *Soul*, or argue a *Plurality* of *Cauſes*, than a multitude of Streams conclude againſt one Fountain or common Source; or the different Effects of the Sun-beams prove more Suns than One in the Univerſe: For thus we daily ſee he ſheds his Rays, and ſhines upon different Places and Objects with very different Succeſs: To One he adminiſters *Heat*, to Another *Light*: The Wax he ſoftens and melts; the Clay he dries and ſtiffens: He makes the Snow whiter, and the Complexion blacker: He ſcatters the Clouds, and contracts the ſtanding Pools. And if all this be done by One Sun in the Firmament, what ſhou'd hinder the Former to be effected by *One Soul* in the *Body*? Why ſhou'd That be admitted for an Argument againſt the Eſſential Unity of the Cauſe in one of theſe Inſtances, which we our ſelves are content to allow, and conſtant Experience makes it plain beyond all Contradiction, is of no weight at all in a Caſe ſo very parallel as This I have laſt mention'd.

As

As to the *other Difficulty*, which relates to the Soul's *Immortality*, when the Matter is carefully conſider'd, it will appear, that this Opinion of the *Unity* of the Hamane Soul, does it no manner of Injury. For this Soul does not ſuffer in its proper Eſſence, by the Death of the Vegetative and Senſitive Faculties; by which Death in reality is meant no more than an Incapacity of exerciſing and exerting thoſe Powers in a State of Separation from the Body. Which muſt neceſſarily follow, upon the Want and Abſence of the proper Subject and Inſtrument to exerciſe them upon. But all *this* hinders not, but that the *Third* and moſt exalted, which is the *Intellectual Faculty*, may ſtill exert it ſelf; becauſe a Body, tho' at preſent it be made uſe of as its Inſtrument is not yet ſo neceſſary and eſſential to that, that it ſhould not be able to ſubſiſt and act without it. Suppoſing then this *Soul* to return to the *Body* a ſecond time, it would return at the ſame time to the Exerciſe of its Vegetative and Senſitive Powers, as we ſee plainly by Inſtances of Perſons who have been raiſed from the Dead, to live here below: But this would not infer a Neceſſity of the ſame Things for living in another State. For thoſe Faculties, whoſe Exerciſe ſupports this Life we now lead, are not thereby proved of ſuch Conſequence, that no other kind of Life could be ſupported or enjoyed without them. It is in this Caſe with the *Soul*, as with the *Sun* (for the ſame Inſtance will be of uſe to illuſtrate our Argument in this Branch alſo) which continues the ſame in himſelf, every whit as entire and unblemiſh'd, not in any degree enfeebled, tho' his Luſtre and Vital Influences be ſometimes intercepted and obſtructed. When his Face is cover'd with a *Total Eclipſe*, we loſe the chearful Light and cheriſhing Heat; but tho' no ſenſible Effects of him appear, yet he is in his own Nature

the ſame Powerful Principle, and Glorious Creature ſtill.

5. *Its Origine* Having thus (as I hope ſufficiently) evidenced the *Unity of the Soul*, in each Individual animated by it; let us in the next Place proceed to obſerve from whence it is *deriv'd*, and how it makes its *Entry* into the *Body*.

Concerning the Former of theſe Particulars, great Diſputes have been maintain'd by Philoſophers and Divines of all Ages. Concerning the *Origine* of the *Humane* and *Intellectual Soul*, I mean; for as to the *Vegetative* and *Senſitive* attributed to Plants and Beaſts, thoſe, by general Conſent, have been eſteemed to conſiſt entirely of *Matter*, to be transferred with the *Seminal Principles*, and accordingly ſubject to Corruption and Death. So that the whole Controverſy turns upon the ſingle Point of the Humane Soul; and concerning this, the *Four* moſt Celebrated Opinions have been theſe which follow. I omit the Mention of any more, which are almoſt loſt in the Crowd, becauſe Theſe have obtained ſo much more generally, and gain'd greater Credit than the reſt.

The *Firſt* of theſe is that Notion of the *Stoicks*, embraced by *Philo* the Jew, and after him, by the *Manichees*, *Priſcillianiſts*, and others. This maintains Reaſonable Souls to be ſo many Extracts, and genuine Productions of the Divine Spirit; Partakers of the very ſame Nature and Subſtance with Almighty God himſelf; who being ſaid expreſly to have breathed it into the Body; theſe Perſons have taken the Advantage of *Moſes*'s Words, and fixed the ſublimeſt Senſe imaginable upon them. *He breathed into him the Breath of Life*; by which they are not content to underſtand that the *Soul* of Man is a diſtinct Thing, and of a different and more exalted Original than the Body; a Spirit of greater Excellence than that which quickens any other Animal,

Animal, but they ſtretch it to a Communication of God's own Eſſence.

The *Second* was deriv'd from *Ariſtotle*, receiv'd by *Tertullian*, *Apollinaris*, the Sect of the *Luciferans*, and ſome other Chriſtians; and This aſſerts the Soul to be deriv'd from our Parents, as the Body is; and in the ſame Manner, and from the ſame Principles with that, whence the Souls of Brutes, and all that are confin'd to Senſe and Vegetation only, are generally believ'd to ſpring.

The *Third* is that of the *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*; entertain'd by moſt of the Rabbinical Philoſophers and Jewiſh Doctors; and after them by *Origen*, and ſome other Chriſtian Doctors too; Which pretends that all Souls were created by God at the Beginning of the World; that they were then by Him commanded, and made out of nothing; that they are reſerv'd and depoſited in ſome of the Heavenly Regions; and afterwards, as his Infinite Wiſdom ſees occaſion, ſent down hither into Bodies ready fitted for, and diſpos'd to entertain them. Upon this Opinion was built another, of Souls being *well* or *ill* dealt with here below, and lodged in ſound and healthful, or elſe in feeble and ſickly Bodies, according to their *Good* or *Ill* Behaviour in a State and Region above, antecedent to their being thus incorporated with theſe Mortal and Fleſhly Tabernacles. How generally this Notion prevail'd, we have a notable Hint from that great Maſter of *Wiſdom*, who gives this Account of his large Improvements, above the common rate of *Men*, *I was a witty Child, and had a good Spirit; yea, rather being good, I came into a Body undefiled.* Thus intimating a Priority of Time, as well as of Order and Dignity in the Soul, and that its good Diſpoſitions qualified it for a Body ſo diſpoſed too. Wiſdom VIII. 19, 20.

The

The *Fourth*, which hath met with the moſt general Approbation, among Chriſtians eſpecially, holds That the *Soul* is created by God, infus'd into a Body prepared duly for its Reception: That it hath no Pre-exiſtence in any ſeparate State, or former Vehicle, but that its Creation and Infuſion are both of the ſame Date.

Theſe *Four* Opinions, are all of them Affirmative. There is yet a *Fifth*, more modeſt and reſerv'd than any of the former. This undertakes not to determine Poſitively one way or other; but is content Ingenuouſly to confeſs its own Ignorance and Uncertainty; declares this a Matter of very abſtruſe Speculation, a dark and deep Myſtery, which God hath not thought fit particularly to reveal; and which Man by the Strength and Penetration of his own Reaſon, can know but very little or nothing of. Of this Opinion we find St. *Auguſtine*, St. *Gregory* of *Nice*, and ſome others. But tho' they preſume not ſo far, as to give any definitive Sentence, on any Side; yet they plainly incline to think, that, of the *Four* Opinions here mention'd, the *Two* latter carry a greater Appearance of Truth, than the *Two* former.

6. *The Entrance into the Body.*

But how, and when this *Humane Soul* (for of the *Brutal* there is little or no Diſpute, nor is the preſent Enquiry concern'd in it) Whether This, I ſay, make its Entrance all at once, or whether the Approaches are gradual and ſlow; Whether it attain its juſt Eſſential Perfections in an Inſtant; or whether it grow up to them, by Time and Succeſſion; is another very great Queſtion. The more general Opinion, which ſeems to have come from *Ariſtotle*, is, That the *Vegetative* and *Senſitive Soul*, whoſe Eſſence is no other than Matter and Body, is in the Principles of Generation; that it deſcends lineally, and is derived to us from the Subſtance of our Parents; that This is finiſhed and per-

perfected in Time and by Degrees, and Nature acts in this Caſe a little like Art, when That undertakes to form the Image of a Man; where firſt the Out-Lines and rude Sketches are drawn; then the Features ſpecify'd; yet Theſe, not of his whole Body at once, but firſt the Painter finiſhes the Head, then the Neck, after that the Breaſt, the Legs, and ſo on, till he have drawn the whole Length. Thus the *Vegetative* and *Senſitive Soul* (they tell you) forms the Body in the Womb: And when That is finiſh'd, and made fit for the Reception of its new Inhabitant, the *Intellectual Soul* comes from abroad, and takes Poſſeſſion of its Dwelling. But that (all this notwithſtanding) They are not *Two* nor *Three diſtinct Souls* neither together, nor in Succeſſion. That the Vegetative ſuffers no Diminution by the Acceſſion of the Senſitive; nor that again by the Addition of the Intelligent Mind. But all Thoſe coaleſce into One, and are form'd and finiſhed, according to the ſtated Times, and uſual Proceſs of Nature.

Others rather incline to believe, that the Soul enters the Body entire, and takes Poſſeſſion with her Faculties of every kind at the ſame Inſtant: That This is done, when all the Organs of the Body are framed, and the whole Shell finiſhed and compacted: That till Then, the Body is only a ſenſeleſs dead Maſs, without any Soul at all: That it had only a Virtue or Natural Energy, (The Eſſential Form of that Matter out of which it is made) and this acting upon the Spirituous Parts, does, by the Agitation and Ferment Theſe are put into, form and build the whole Body, and adjuſt every Part of this Structure duly. When Things are brought to this Head, then that Energy vaniſhes, and is quite loſt, and the Soul ſucceeds into its Place. And when this New, this Noble Gueſt arrives, all Things change their Form; and

That

That, which before was nothing but dead ſenſeleſs *Matter*, exalts its Name and Nature, and from thenceforth commences *Man*.

7. *Its Reſidence, and the manner of it.*

When it hath actually entred the Body, we ſhall do well to know after what Manner it exiſts, and dwells in it. Some Philoſophers, whoſe Notions of this Matter ſeem to have been much perplex'd, and at a mighty Loſs, how to make out any tolerable Conjunction between theſe Two, have imagin'd the Soul to reſide in the Body, like a Maſter in his Houſe, or the Pilot in a Ship. But tho', as to the Governing and Directing Part, the Compariſon be not much amiſs; yet when apply'd o explain the particular Mode of its Exiſtence, it is abſolutely improper, and ſtark naught. For at this rate the Soul would not be the *Form*, the *Internal* or *Eſſential* Part of the Animal or the Man: It would have no Occaſion for the Members of this Body to give it Reception; would not be affected in any kind from this cloſe Affinity, nor have any of thoſe tender and mutual Reſentments and Sufferings, ariſing from Bodily Pains and Pleaſures; but would be a Subſtance entirely diſtinct; ſubſiſting from and by it ſelf; at its own Diſpoſal to go or come, to ſeparate from the Body, without making any Difference in it; or any way taking from its own Functions, or the Exerciſe of them. All which are intolerable and moſt notorious Abſurdities. The Soul then in the Body, is like *Form* in *Matter*, diſperſed and extended over every Part of it; giving Life, Motion, and Senſe, all thorough: And both Theſe taken together make one Perſon or *Hypoſtaſis*; that is, one entire Subject, which we call an *Animal*. Nor are we to be ſolicitous for the finding out any intermediate Quality, which ſhould connect theſe Two; for there is no ſuch Thing in Nature. All Philoſophers conſenting in This, That there can nothing come between *Matter* and

and *Form*, no common Link or Band more intimate for them. The Soul then is *all* in *all* the Body; but as for what is commonly added, of its being *all* in *every* Part too, I forbear the Expreſſion; becauſe, in my Apprehenſion, it divides the Soul, and implies a Contradiction.

8. *The Seat of the Soul.*

Now, altho' the Soul (in Agreement to what we have but juſt now aſſerted) be really communicated and diffuſed thro' the whole Body in *general*; yet it muſt be acknowledg'd, that ſhe is more *eminently* preſent and powerful, in ſome Parts than others. Where, for the Sake of a clearer and more viſible Exerciſe of her reſpective Faculties, ſhe may be ſaid to keep her Reſidence, or have her Seat; tho' not to be entirely there; becauſe This would import *Confinement*; and the other Parts, upon the Account of her Abſence, would be left void of all Soul and Form. In regard therefore that the Soul is remarkable for the Exerciſe of Four Predominant Faculties above the reſt; Four Principal Places of Action and Reſidence have accordingly been aſſign'd to her. Now theſe are the *Four* diſtinct Apartments or Work-houſes, taken Notice of formerly, when we had occaſion to treat of the Fabrick and Contexture of the *Humane Body*. Theſe are the moſt Important and Prime Inſtruments of the Soul; the reſt are ſubordinate too, and reducible under them, as the other Faculties are likewiſe to thoſe exerciſed in theſe Parts: Namely, the Continuation of the Species in the *loweſt Region*: The Natural or Nutritive Faculty in the *Liver*: The Vital in the *Heart*; and the Animal and Intellectual in the *Brain*.

9. *Its Sufficiency.*

The next Advance to be made upon this Subject, concerns the Exerciſe of theſe Faculties in general, and how the Soul is qualified for this Purpoſe. Now we ſhall do well to take Notice that the very Nature and *Form* of every Living Creature, conſiſting

ing in This Soul, it cannot be, but the Soul muſt be abundantly provided with neceſſary *Knowledge*, and underſtand its Buſineſs, without Pains or Induſtry, or the ſlow and laborious Methods of acquir'd Inſtruction. As certain it is too, that what ſhe is thus inſtructed in by Nature, ſhe fails not to exert, and punctually to fulfil, as Need requires; provided no accidental Obſtruction prevent or interrupt her, and that the Inſtrument ſhe is obliged to make uſe of, be rightly diſpoſed to follow her Directions. The Philoſophers therefore were much in the right, when they ſtil'd Nature a Wiſe, Skilful, and Induſtrious School-Miſtreſs: One that qualifies her Children and Scholars for all that is required from them. * *The Seeds of all Art and Virtue* (ſays one of them) *are implanted in us originally; and Almighty God, the Great Maſter, brings forward our Natural Abilities, and draws them forth into Action.* It were eaſy to prove this by pregnant Inſtances of every kind. The *Vegetative Soul*, of its own accord, without Artifice or Inſtitution, forms the *Embryo* in the Womb, ſo curiouſly, ſo conveniently, ſo wonderfully, that we can never ſufficiently expreſs and extol the Excellence of this Skill. Afterwards it takes equal Care of the Nouriſhment and Growth; conveys, ſeeks, and receives Suſtenance; retains what is eaten; digeſts and lives upon it; throws off the ſuperfluous and excremental Parts; refreſhes, recruits, repairs thoſe Parts which ſink or faint, or fall to decay. And Theſe are all of them Operations manifeſt and conſtant, not in Men only, but in Brutes and Plants alſo.

The *Senſitive Soul*, in like manner, of her own accord, puts Men and Brutes upon all neceſſary Actions. Such as Moving their Feet, their Hands,

* Inſita ſunt nobis omnium artium ac virtutum Semina. Magiſterque ex occulto Deus producit Ingenia.

and

and other Limbs and Parts, which may be of uſe to them, to ſcratch, to rub, to ſhake themſelves, to ſuck, to menage their Lips and Mouth, to cry, to laugh, and other Expreſſions of Want, and Grief, and Pleaſure.

The *Reaſonable* and *Intellectual Soul* does the very ſame thing in Its Capacity: And thus it acts not by vertue of any Reminiſcence, or Recollection of any Knowledge it had before with this Union with the Body, as *Plato* fondly imagin'd; a Notion which proceeds upon the Suppoſal of another State, in which the Soul pre-exiſted before its Entrance into, or the Formation of this Body; nor does it owe this Power to Knowledge receiv'd in at the Senſes, and acquir'd by Their Means upon Uſe and Obſervation, as *Ariſtotle* conceives, who repreſents the Soul at the Birth, to be a *perfect Blank*, utterly void of all Characters or Images, but ready to receive Impreſſions of any kind: But it ſeems rather to diſcharge this Office by the Original Strength of its own Native Powers: It Imagines, Underſtands, Retains, Argues, Reaſons, Concludes of it ſelf, without any Inſtruction or additional Helps at all. This Aſſertion, I muſt own, ſeems more difficult to comprehend than the Former; and we can more readily aſſent to ſuch a Native Aptitude in the *Vegetative* and *Senſitive*, than we do in the *Intellectual Soul*. It is manifeſt too, that *Ariſtotle*'s Authority lies in ſome degree againſt the Thing: And therefore to ſatisfy all theſe Difficulties, I will allow this Matter a more particular Conſideration, when we come to diſcourſe of the *Intellectual Soul* diſtinctly.

10. *Its Separation. Twofold. Natural.*

There remains yet one Point more concerning the Soul, to be enquir'd into, which relates to its Separation from the Body: Now This may happen different ways, and be of ſundry kinds. The only uſual and natural Separation is by *Death*.

Only

Only herein is a mighty difference between other Animals and Mankind, that when the Reſt die, their Souls die too; agreeably to that Rule in Philoſophy, *That when the Subject-Matter is corrupted, the Form is perfectly loſt, tho' the Matter ſtill remain.* Whereas the Soul of Man is indeed ſeparated from his Body by Death, but by no means loſt or annihilated: So far from periſhing, that it remains entire and unhurt, as having the Privilege of an Immortal and Incorruptible Nature.

There is not in the World any one Opinion which hath been more univerſally entertain'd, more eagerly embrac'd, more plauſibly defended, more religiouſly ſtuck to (I may well ſay Religiouſly, ſince this Doctrine is in truth the very Foundation of all Religion) than That which aſſerts the *Immortality of the Soul.* All this now is meant of an External and Publick Profeſſion; for, alas! it is but too manifeſt and too melancholy a Truth; (and the prodigious Numbers of diſſolute Epicures, abandon'd Libertines, and prophane Scoffers at God and a Future State, bear Teſtimony to it; That what Pretence ſoever the Generality of the World may make of receiving this Doctrine in Words and Speculation, there are but very few who expreſs an inward Senſe, and ſerious Belief of it, by living like Men that believe it indeed. Of that practical Aſſent, I ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak more largely hereafter. In the mean while, give me leave to lament, that ſo little and ſo poor Effects appear, of an Opinion capable of producing ſo many and ſo noble: For certainly, there is not any one Point whatſoever, the Perſuaſion whereof can bring greater Benefit, or have a ſtronger Influence upon Mankind. It may be objected, I confeſs, that all the Arguments which Humane Diſcourſe, and meer Natural Reaſon endeavour to eſtabliſh it by, cannot amount to a Demonſtration,

ſtration. But it muſt be confeſs'd, that there are ſeveral other Things, which Men are content to yield their Credit to, upon far more weak and inſufficient Suggeſtions. And whereinſoever *Reaſon* falls ſhort, it is abundantly ſupply'd by *Revelation*; which, as it is the beſt, ſo it is the proper Evidence in Matters of this kind. But yet to ſhew the Importance of this Doctrine, even Nature herſelf hath implanted in all Mankind a ſtrong Inclination to think it true: For it is natural for us to deſire the lengthening out, nay, the perpetuating our own Exiſtence. And no Reflection is more uneaſy, than That which attempts to perſuade us that we muſt *once ceaſe to be.* This Diſpoſition is interwoven with our very Frame; and hath given Birth to another no leſs general than it ſelf, which is That anxious Care, and impatient Regard for Poſterity, that takes ſuch faſt hold on every Man of us.

Nor wou'd I be ſo far miſunderſtood, as to have it thought, that this Diſpoſition of Mind is the only Humane Foundation upon which our Belief of the *Soul's Immortality* ſtands: For there are *Two* other Moral Arguments in particular, which give it great Credit, and, to ſay the very leaſt of the Caſe, render it exceeding probable.

The *Firſt* is, That Hope of Glory and Reputation, and the tender Care of preſerving a Good Name when we are gone; nay, the Thought and Endeavour that our Fame ſhou'd be Immortal. Now tho' I cannot but condemn this Sollicitude of Vanity, when Men pretend to place their *Happineſs* in the *Opinions* of other People after themſelves are dead; yet the marvellous Regard, and univerſal Concern Mankind expreſs for it, ſeems to ſay, that Nature inſpires thoſe Deſires and Expectations. And Nature, we know, is a *Wiſe*

Agent, and does not uſe to cheat Men with Hopes, which are altogether impoſſible and vain.

Another Reaſon not eaſy to be got over by them who oppoſe this Doctrine, is, That common Impreſſion that Thoſe Crimes which are committed in ſecret, or which otherwiſe eſcape the Obſervation and Puniſhment of Civil Juſtice, and the Vengeance of Man, are ſtill reſerv'd to a farther Reckoning; that Almighty God ſupplies the Defects of Temporal Judicatures, and hath a ſevere Judgment in ſtore for ſuch Offenders as Thoſe cannot extend to. And ſince we find by frequent Inſtances, that many Enormities of this kind are not made the Marks of the Divine Vengeance in the Preſent World; it is a good Conſequence of all the Idea's we can reaſonably entertain of God, that He ſhould purſue the Guilty Wretches into Another World, and chaſtiſe them as they deſerve, even after Death. And now I would be glad to know, what greater Moral Aſſurance can be expected for a Subject of this kind, than, that Humane Nature diſpoſes every Man to look forward to it, to deſire, and to think it probable; and that the Conſideration of the Divine Juſtice, repreſents it as a thing not only greatly probable, but abſolutely neceſſary.

This laſt Reflection will lead us to the Diſcovery of Three different Kinds and Degrees of Souls; all which become proper Objects of the Divine Juſtice: Nor need we credit it upon that Account only, but even Natural Reaſon, the Order and Harmony of the Univerſe will perſuade us, that ſuch a ſort of Being, and ſo Immortal as we have been deſcribing the Humane Soul, is requiſite to make the Series of the Creation beautiful and compleat. Of theſe Three ſorts we may obſerve that Two are in Extremes: The One conſiſting of ſuch

ſuch Souls as are groſs, ſunk down, immerſt in, inſeparable from, and compounded of *meer Matter*: Such are the Souls of *Brutes*. The Other quite contrary, ſuch as have no manner of Communication with *Matter* and Body, as *Angels*, and *Immortal Spirits*, whether Good or Bad. In the midſt, and between theſe Two, is the *Humane Soul*; and this is neither entirely and neceſſarily confin'd and faſten'd to *Matter*, nor intirely ſeparated from it, but joyn'd and wedded to it in this preſent State; yet ſo, that its Divorce is not its Deſtruction, but it can ſubſiſt and live without *Matter* in Another State.

Such an Order and Diſtinction as This, is no deſpicable Argument for the *Immortality of the Soul*, ſince otherwiſe we muſt ſuppoſe a wide Gap, a vaſt Defect, and foul Deformity in Nature, ſuch as carries Abſurdity in it ſelf, caſts a Reflection upon its Author, and threatens Ruin to the World. Which is ſupported by nothing more than by the Gradual and Contiguous Order and Succeſſion of the Creatures: And therefore between Diſtances ſo wide as altogether *Corruptible*, and abſolutely *Incorruptible*, Nature requires ſome middle Condition of a Subſtance, partly the One, and partly the Other. Such a Link as this is neceſſary to tie the two Ends of this Chain together; and ſuch a Link can be no other Creature than *Man*: For if we carry our Thoughts farther, we ſhall find that Other Beings are without the Compaſs of this Length, and ſo there are *Five Stages* of *Beings* in all. One below the meaneſt, and even thoſe Souls which are ſaid to conſiſt entirely of *Matter*, ſuch as Stones, which we cannot ſay have any Soul at all. *Another* far above even the moſt exalted, the moſt pure and immortal Souls; which is the *Ever-Bleſſed* and *Eternal Spirit*, the *Great* and *Only God*.

2. *Separation Unnatural.* But beſides the Separation of the Soul already treated of, there is Another unnatural and uncommon one; and this happens by Fits and Starts, is out of the Way, and conſequently very intricate, and hard to give our ſelves any tolerable Account of: Such, I mean, as comes upon Men in Extaſies and Raptures, which, as they differ very much in their Symptoms and Circumſtances, ſo do they likewiſe in their Cauſes and Occaſions. Of theſe ſome are *Divine Extaſies*, wrought by the expreſs and immediate Operation of God: Such are thoſe Trances, which the Scripture takes Notice of in *Abraham*, *Daniel*, *Ezechiel*, *Zacharias*, St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*. Others are *Dæmoniacal*, procur'd by the Interpoſition of Good or Evil Spirits, many whereof are mention'd in Story: And we are told of *John Duns-Scotus* in particular, that having lain a long time in a Trance, and being taken for dead, he was carry'd to be bury'd, and put into his Grave; but being rouz'd with the Blows and Bruiſes of the Mould thrown upon him, he came to himſelf, and was taken up again; and in a few Days after dy'd in good earneſt, with the loſs of Blood, and the Bruiſes he had received upon his Head. *Cardan* mentions ſomewhat of this Nature, with which both Himſelf and his Father were poſſeſs'd. And many Creditable Authentick Relations have been made from ſeveral diſtant Parts of the World, of abundance of People, moſt of them of the Vulgar ſort, too weak and ignorant to contrive ſuch Stories; and of Women poſſeſs'd, whoſe Bodies have not only continu'd long without any Senſe, or Motion, or Pulſe, but have been cut, bruiſed, burnt, without ever feeling it, and afterwards when they came to themſelves, they have complain'd of intolerable Torture and exquiſite Pain, and have given very ſtrange Accounts of what they have ſeen and done in Places a great way off.

A

A *Third* Separation there is, which we may call *Humane*, becauſe proceeding from Humane Means, and ſuch as no Superior or Inviſible Power ſeems to be concern'd in: This comes either from that Diſeaſe which from *Hippocrates* is call'd *Morbus Sacer*, but commonly known by the Name of the *Falling-Sickneſs*, (attended with Foamings at the Mouth, which are look'd upon as the Mark and Character of it, and diſtinguiſh this Diſtemper from Poſſeſſions, in which the Patients are ſaid to have none of theſe Frothings, but a very noiſom Stench in the room of them:) Or this Separation may be owing to the Force of Stupifying and Sleeping Medicines: Or to the Strength of Imagination, which being vehemently intent upon ſome One Thing, perfectly carries away the Soul, and renders it ſtupid and inſenſible to all other Objects beſides.

Now in theſe Three kinds of Extaſy and Tranſport, whether *Divine*, *Dæmoniacal*, or *Humane*, the great Doubt ariſing is, Whether the *Soul* be really and truly ſeparated from the *Body*; or whether, without any ſuch Separation, it ſtill continue there, but be ſo entirely taken up with ſome External Object, as perfectly to forget the Body belonging to it: So that its Natural Operations, and the Exerciſe of its proper Offices and Vocation are, during that Time, ſuſpended, and wholly ſuperſeded.

As to *Divine Extaſies*; The Apoſtle ſpeaking of Himſelf, and what happen'd in his own Caſe, will not preſume to define any thing: * *Whether in the Body, or out of the Body, I cannot tell*, (ſays he) *God knoweth.* And this Caution of His, is, methinks, a good Warning to all other People, that They too ſhould be modeſt and reſerv'd, and not raſh in determining any thing poſitively, not only in Theſe, but even in leſs Abſtractions of the Mind. * 2 Cor. 12.

As to the Second Caſe, That of *Dæmoniacks*, Their having no Senſe of great Blows, and exquiſite Tortures, and reporting Things tranſacted at Two or Three hundred Leagues diſtance; theſe, I confeſs, are great Conjectures, and very violent Preſumptions of an actual Separation; but yet, I think, they are not concluſive and neceſſary Arguments for it: For the Devils may amuſe the Soul, and keep it ſo fully employ'd even when at Home, that it ſhall have no Commerce or Communication with the Body for ſome conſiderable Time; and at the very ſame Time too he may repreſent to the Imagination what paſſes at a great diſtance, in ſo lively and clear a manner, as to fool the Man with a Perſuaſion, that he hath really been there, and ſeen thoſe very Things which the Images thus ſtrongly imprinted upon his Fancy, have enabled him ſo particularly to relate. How far the Activity of Evil or Good Spirits extends, is not poſſible for us to ſay. But it is a very bold Aſſertion, and what Nature will very hardly endure, That the Whole Soul, formally taken, goes out, and abandons the Body; for upon theſe Terms the Body muſt die to all Intents and Purpoſes: And ſuch Mens coming to themſelves again, wou'd not be a *Recovery* of their Senſes, but a *Reſurrection* from the Dead. And yet to ſay, That the Soul does not All go, but the Imaginative and Intellectual Faculties rove abroad, while the Vegetative ſtay behind and keep Houſe, is ſtill more monſtrous and abſurd: For at this rate, the Soul, which is entire, and One in her Eſſence, wou'd be divided; or elſe we muſt ſuppoſe the Accident only to be tranſported and born away, and the Subſtance to remain fixed in its proper Place; and therefore we have reaſon to admit any other Solution of the Caſe, rather than that of an Actual Separation.

As

As to the Third and Laſt ſort, which was term'd *Humane*, the Thing is clear beyond a Doubt, that there is no real Separation in it, ſince all that can be pretended to in this Caſe, amounts to no more than ſome preſent Stupefaction and Diſorder, by means whereof ſuch of the Soul's Operations as are Viſible and External, ceaſe in Appearance, and are ſuſpended for ſome time.

What becomes of this *Soul*, and in what State or Condition ſhe continues after that Real and Natural Separation made by *Death*, Wiſe Men have not been able to agree; nor does this Point fall properly within the Compaſs and Deſign of the preſent Treatiſe. The *Tranſmigration* of Souls, advanced by *Pythagoras*, hath found (in ſome Parts of the Notion eſpecially) tolerable good Acceptance with the *Stoicks*, the *Academicks*, the *Ægyptian* Philoſophers, and ſome Others. Not that they all admitted it in the ſame Senſe and Extent, or to all the Purpoſes he intended it ſhou'd ſerve: Some allowed it only ſo far as it might contribute to the Puniſhment of Wicked Men, who might ſuffer by being turn'd into Brutes, in a manner like that miraculous Inflict upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, as a Scourge from God for his Vanity and Atheiſtical Pride. Some again, and thoſe of conſiderable Eminence and Authority, have imagin'd, that Pure and Pious Souls, upon their quitting this Body, are tranſlated into Angels; and the Black and Guilty ones transform'd in Fiends and Devils. Methinks it were more prudent to ſoften the former Branch of this Notion, as our Bleſſed Saviour hath done already, by ſaying, *That they neither marry nor die any more, but are as the Angels, and are the Children of God.* Some again have fancy'd, That the Souls of the wickedeſt and moſt profligate Wretches, after a very long Term of Time and Puniſhment, utterly periſh, and are reduc'd to their Firſt

Dan. iv.

Luke xx.

Nothing. But Humane Reaſon is, and muſt needs be for ever, in the Dark about all ſuch Matters. And therefore theſe Diſquiſitions ſhou'd be conſtantly referr'd to their proper Topick of Inſtruction: For, as nothing but *Revelation* and *Religion* can inform us truly in what concerns a Future State, ſo they have not been wanting to declare what is full and ſufficient for our Purpoſe, and therefore it is our *Duty*, as well as our *Wiſdom*, to receive this without more ado, and ſtedfaſtly to reſt in it.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the Second Particular, which concerns the Eſſence and Nature of the Soul, the Author makes a very odd Diſtinction between *Matter* and Body, and tries to reconcile the Opinion of Thoſe who ſay the *Soul* is *Immaterial*, with Theirs who affirm it to be *Corporeal*. The Reſult of which is, That the Souls of Men do not conſiſt of groſs and palpable Matter, but of a Body thin and ſubtle, even beyond all Imagination: And therefore, in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe, he continues to make a Difference between the Souls of Men and thoſe of Brutes, even in this very Point of Materiality it ſelf.

But now, ſince *Body* and *Matter*, ſtrictly and Philoſophically taken, come all to one; and ſince no Subtlety, or Fineneſs of Compoſition, makes any Body the leſs a Material Subſtance; ſince again the Humane and Intellectual Soul hath evidently ſeveral Faculties, and performs ſeveral Operations, (ſuch as *Cogitation*, *Volition*, nay, even *Senſation* it ſelf) which are neither inherent Qualities of Matter, as ſuch; nor what any Motion or Modification whatſoever, can render it capable of; *Monſieur Charron*'s Subtlety of the Body will not help the

Cauſe

Cauſe at all: For *Æthereal* or *Cæleſtial Bodies* are as truly *Matter* as any of the Courſeſt and Groſſeſt whatſoever. And the Notion of *Matter* is not to be taken from its Purity or Fœculency, its Palpability or its Fineneſs; but from its Eſſential Properties, ſuch as Extenſion, Quantity, and Diviſibility, being purely Paſſive, and Acting only as it is acted upon; Its being ſubject to the Laws of Motion; and the like: Theſe now are the inſeparable Properties of every thing that is *Body*; and from hence it muſt needs follow, that all Bodies whatſoever are equally diſtant from, equally unqualify'd for Thought, and Perception, and all other Operations and Faculties, which are the proper and diſtinguiſhing Characters of a Reaſonable Soul. Concerning which, if my Reader deſire farther Satisfaction than the Nature of a ſingle *Advertiſement* allows me room for, I refer him to Dr. *Bently*'s Second Sermon againſt Atheiſm, where he will find this Argument handled at large.

When once ſuch an Abſurdity as This hath been ſhewn to attend that Notion which maintains the Soul's Corporeity; it is to very little Purpoſe to urge us with the Difficulties concerning the mutual Intercourſe of our Souls and Bodies; or what the Soul ſuffers either in her United or in her Separate State: Some of which are capable of the ſame Reſolutions with thoſe given in the Caſe of Brutes, (by thoſe Philoſophers who allow them Senſe:) and are not the Actions or Affections of the Intelligent, but of the Senſitive Powers: And for Others, which are ſuperior to Humane Diſcourſe, we acknowledge our Ignorance, and reſolve all into the ſole *Will*, and wonderful *Wiſdom* of our Almighty Creator. He hath not told us what is the Band of Union between theſe Two; nor how this Communication and intimate Correſpondence is kept up, and carry'd on; And we think

think it is impoſſible for any to acquaint us with this Proceſs, except Him only, who contrived and conſtituted it. But Ten thouſand ſuch Objections weigh little, when balanc'd againſt a Flaw in the very Foundation: Every thing at this rate may be diſputed, and *Univerſal Scepticiſm* be advanced, for we are able to trace nothing thro' all its Motions and Operations. But an Argument *ab Abſurdo*, made evident in the Firſt and moſt ſubſtantial Principles, is allowed, even in that Science, which profeſſes the greateſt Accuracy in Arguing, to be a Juſt and Legitimate Demonſtration againſt any thing, which ſuch Principles are alledg'd to eſtabliſh.

See more concerning the Immateriality *of the* Soul, *and her* Operations, *in the Advertiſement at the End of the Tenth Chapter.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Soul in Particular; and Firſt, of the Vegetative Faculty.

HAving thus given a General Deſcription of the Soul, in the Ten Points already inſiſted on, I come in the next Place to treat of it ſomewhat more diſtinctly; by conſidering its reſpective Principal *Faculties* a-part. And the moſt convenient Order, as I apprehend, will be to begin with the Loweſt firſt, and ſo proceed from the *Vegetative* to the *Senſitive*, from thence to that of *Imagination* and *Appetite*, and laſt of all to the *Intellectual*, which is the Supreme of all the Faculties, and that which is the true and peculiar Character of the Humane Soul.

Soul. Under each of Theſe there are ſeveral ſubordinate Powers, of leſs Note and Figure, which hold, as Branches of, or Deputies under thoſe, and will fall in naturally to be mentioned, in the Proſecution of that Method I have here propoſed.

As for That which concerns *Vegetation*, it is the meaneſt by much, and given us in common with the very Plants. I ſhall therefore ſay but very little of it, not only becauſe the Subject is not of Dignity enough to bear me out in long Enlargements; but alſo becauſe this is more properly the Buſineſs of Phyſicians, whoſe Profeſſion leads to the Study of Health and Sickneſs, the Preſervatives of the One, and the Remedies againſt the Other. I ſhall only call upon my Reader at preſent to obſerve, That under this Faculty, there are Three Great and very Important Subalterns concerned, and each of them ſubſequent and aſſiſting to each other in a regular Progreſſion. For the Firſt promotes the Second, and the Second the Third: but not ſo, as that the Order can be inverted, and the Remark hold back again.

The Firſt of theſe is the *Nutritive*; inſtituted for the Preſervation of the Individual; and under This there are ſeveral Aſſiſtants, ſuch as the Attractive or ſeeking of neceſſary Suſtenance; that of Concoction and Digeſtion, which ſeparates the good and uſeful Parts from thoſe which are noxious and naughty: The Retentive, for what is neceſſary; and the Expulſive, to throw off what is offenſive or ſuperfluous.

The Second is that of *Growing*, which tends to the Perfection of the Individual, and giving it all its juſt Proportions.

The Third is the *Generative*; for the Continuance and Succeſſion of the Species.

From

From hence now it is plain, that the Two former of theſe were inſtituted by Nature, for the Sake and Benefit of the Individual: and terminate in the Advantage of one ſingle Perſon, and his own Body. The Third extends to the Species in general, and its Effects do not, cannot center in the Perſon himſelf; and therefore This, as more Extenſive and Beneficial, is eſteem'd ſuperior in Dignity to the other Two; and advancing nearer to That Faculty next above it, which is the Senſitive. For, Producing ones own Likeneſs, is a very Eminent Perfection in Nature, and gives us the Honour of ſome diſtant Reſemblances, even to the Great Creator himſelf.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Senſitive Faculty.

THE Exerciſe of this Faculty, or the Operations of Senſe, require the Concurrence of no leſs than *Six* ſeveral Things; *Four* within, and *Two* without the Body. And they are theſe which follow.

I. The *Firſt* is the *Soul*: This is the Prime Efficient Cauſe of Perception.

II. The *Second* is the Faculty of *Senſation*, (which I diſtinguiſh here from the Former, having already proved, that it is only a Quality of the Soul, and not the very Eſſence or Soul it ſelf.) This conſiſts in the Perception and Apprehending of External Objects: Which may be done Five ſeveral Ways; for which reaſon we are commonly ſaid to have Five Senſes. Concerning that Number I ſhall ſay ſomething in the next Chapter; in the mean

mean while my Reader need ſcarce be told that theſe *Senſes* are call'd, *Hearing*, *Seeing*, *Smelling*, *Taſting*, and *Feeling*.

III. The *Third* Thing neceſſary is the *Bodily Inſtrument*, or *Organ* of *Senſe*; and theſe are proportionably *Five* too: The *Eye* for Sight; The *Ear* for Hearing; The *Cavity* at the Top of the Noſe (which goes into the firſt Ventricle of the Brain) for Smelling; The *Tongue* for Taſting; and the *Skin* all over the Body, for that of the Touch or Feeling.

IV. The *Fourth* requiſite, is that Animal Spirit, derived from the Brain, (which is the Origine and Seat of the Senſitive Soul) and convey'd thro' the Nerves, to theſe ſeveral Organs: by the Motion and Mediation of which Spirit and Organ, the Soul exerciſes her Faculty.

V. The *Fifth* is, what the Philoſophers were uſed to call the *Species Senſibilis*, which is, in plain *Engliſh*, the Object which moves and affects, or is propounded to the Organ: And This is of a different kind, according to the different Senſe excited, or apply'd to by it. That of *Sight*, or the *Eye* (according to the commonly received Opinion,) is *Colour*; a Quality or Accident inherent in the Body colour'd. *Six* of theſe are ſtil'd Simple Colours, as *White*, *Yellow*, *Red*, *Purple*, *Green*, and *Blue*: To which ſome add *Black*, and call them Seven. But, ſtrictly ſpeaking, Black is not any Colour, but only a Privation of Light, reſembling Darkneſs; as other Colours do more or leſs reſemble Light: The Number of Compounded Colours is infinite. And, indeed, if we go to the Philoſophical Nicety of the Thing, there is no Colour at all in any Body, whatſoever; for This is nothing elſe in Truth but the various Repreſentation which Light differently modified makes upon our Senſes. For when the Light is gone, all Colour is gone with it, and

as

as this never appears without ſome Colour, ſo it never diſappears, ſo as to leave Colour behind.

Now *Light* is a Quality proceeding from a Luminous Body, which creates in us a Perception and Sight of it ſelf, and of all Things elſe within our View. When this terminares upon, and is ſtopp'd by any ſolid Body, it rebounds back again, and doubles its Rays by Reflection: But if it penetrate the Body, and find farther Paſſage, it cannot be ſeen except only in its firſt Source, the Luminous Body from whence it was ſhed originally; nor does it then do us any Service in ſhewing other Objects.

The Object of *Hearing* is Sound; by which we are to underſtand that Noiſe which reſults from the mutual Colliſion of Two Bodies; and this is very various: For ſome Sounds are ſweet and melodious, they ſooth and charm the Soul, calm the Paſſions, compoſe the Humours of the Body, and chaſe away the Diſorders of the whole Man. Others again are ſmart and piercing, ſtrike thro' the very Soul, wound and diſturb our Faculties with an ungrateful Harſhneſs. But of all our Senſes, the Mind ſeems to be moſt under the Power of This; none entertains it with greater Variety; none takes more abſolute Poſſeſſion of it.

The Object of *Taſte* is what we call Savour or Reliſhes; of which the Simple are *Sweet, Bitter, Sour, Sharp, Salt, Acid*: But of the Compounds there is no Number; they are made ſo exquiſite, and multiplied ſo induſtriouſly.

That of *Smelling* is Flavour; which is a ſort of Vapour ariſing from the Odoriferous Object, and aſcending thro' the Noſe into the firſt and moſt prominent Ventricles of the Brain. Such Perfumes as are very ſtrong, commit a ſort of Violence upon the Brain, and are prejudicial or offenſive to it: But thoſe that are agreeable and moderate, miniſter

ſter wonderful Comfort and Refreſhment, and both delight and do good to the Head.

The Objects of *Feeling* are ſuch as uſually are term'd the Tactile Qualities, *Hot*, *Cold*, *Moiſt*, *Dry*; to which we may add *Soft* and *Sharp*, *Rough* and *Smooth*, *Motion* and *Reſt*, *Tickling*, &c.

VI. The Laſt Thing which muſt concur in Senſation, is the *Medium*, or Space betwixt the Object and the Organ; and this, to render the Operation what it ought to be, is the *Air*, not in any wiſe changed or corrupted, but free, and in its Natural Purity and Diſpoſition.

From hence we may gather, That the Act of Senſation is perform'd, when the Object, or *Senſible Species* preſents it ſelf by the Help of a *Medium* diſpos'd to convey this Repreſentation to the proper Organ fitted to receive it; and that the Animal Spirits lodg'd there do accordingly take the Impreſſion, and apprehend the Thing: So that here is *Action* and *Paſſion* both; and the Senſes are not purely *Paſſive*; for, notwithſtanding that they receive an Impreſſion, and in that reſpect are acted upon, yet do they likewiſe act, in ſome Degree, themſelves, ſo far as they perceive the Image, and apprehend the Object propounded to them. 2.

See the Advertiſement *at the End of the next* Chapter.

The old Philoſophy before *Ariſtotle*'s Time, made a very remarkable Difference between the *Sight* and the reſt of the Senſes: Suppoſing This to be meerly *Active*, and imagining, that, whereas the Others receiv'd the Object and Impreſſion from without, and ſo cou'd only be *Paſſive*; The Eye quite contrary, ſhot out its Rays of Light from within, and made an Impreſſion upon the Viſible Object. But ever ſince *Ariſtotle*, this Account of Viſion hath been better ſtated, and all the 3.

Senſes

Senſes are allow'd to be equally *Paſſive*, equally wrought upon from without: All the Arguments of the Ancients to the contrary being very eaſily anſwer'd and ſet aſide.

4. But now, beſides theſe Five particular Senſes, the Organs whereof appear outwardly, there is Another, which is call'd the *Common Senſory* within. Here it is that the ſeveral Objects of every ſort, perceiv'd by the Corporeal Organs, make their *Rendezvous*: Hither they are brought to be examin'd, compar'd, ſorted out, and diſtinguiſh'd aſunder: For were there no ſuch Office of Enquiry, all wou'd end in Confuſion. This diſcerning Power is above the Capacity of any particular Organ of Senſe; for each of theſe is intent upon his own Buſineſs, and whatever his Fellows do, is out of his Sphere; he knows nothing at all of the Matter; nor can he be a competent Judge in it.

CHAP. X.

Of the Senſes, which are the moſt Exalted and Noble Parts of the Body.

1. *Of what Conſequence they are to us.* *See* Chap. xv. 11.

THE ordinary way of being conducted to the Knowledge of Things, is, by the Aſſiſtance and Miniſtry of our *Senſes*; ſo ſay the Schools, but it is not univerſally true. Theſe are our firſt Inſtructers: All our Learning begins with them, and is at laſt reſolv'd into them: We can go no farther back than they lead us, or give occaſion for us to build Conſequences upon. Each of Theſe is ſupreme within its own Territories; and a large Dominion each of them poſſeſſes: An infinite Number

ber of Reflections and Notions ariſe from each; nor does any One of them hold under, depend upon, or ſtand in need of the reſt: Thus the Power of them all is equally abſolute, though ſome of them have a wider Range, and more Buſineſs, and a longer Train of Conſequences and Inſtructions, than ſome others. Nor are we to wonder at This, ſince the Caſe is the ſame in other Inſtances: For a Petty Prince is as independent, as truly Sovereign within his own ſmall Territories, as the greateſt Monarch upon Earth in Kingdoms of the largeſt Extent.

2. *Their Number.*

It is a Maxim univerſally receiv'd, *That there are but Five Senſes in Nature*; and that which inclines all the World to think ſo, is, becauſe we can obſerve no more in our ſelves: But poſſibly there may be more, and ſome queſtion may be made of it; nay, indeed, ſome probable Reaſons may be offer'd, that there are more. But, ſuppoſing that there are, it is certainly not in our Power to know it; nor can we poſſibly aſſert or deny the Thing poſitively; For there is no way to diſcover the Want or Defect of a *Senſe* we never had. Several Brutes enjoy all the Advantages of Life that are neceſſary to them, notwithſtanding they do not enjoy all the Methods of Senſation, which Nature hath given to Mankind; and I ſee no Reaſon, why an Animal may not ſubſiſt without any of the *Five Senſes*, that of *Touch* only excepted, which alone wou'd ſupply the bare Neceſſities of Life. It is plain we live very conveniently with *Five*; and yet perhaps there may be *One*, or *Two*, or *Three* more in Nature, which we in no degree partake of. But, as I ſaid, this is more than we do or can know; for each Senſe is confin'd within its own Diviſion, and can make no Diſcoveries, nor hath any Juriſdiction out of its own Compaſs. A Man blind from his Birth can never be brought

to any Idea of Sight; nor can he (ſtrictly ſpeaking) either deſire it, or be concerned for the Want of it. 'Tis true, he will tell you perhaps, that he wiſhes to *See*, but this is ſpoke by rote, and according as he hears other People expreſs themſelves; for indeed he wiſhes he knows not what: And all it comes to at laſt is, That he wou'd be glad to have ſomewhat which he is told the reſt of the World have, and himſelf hath not. The reaſon of all This is, Becauſe the *Senſes* are the *See Note.* *Doors* at which all our Knowledge makes its firſt Entrance; and that which did not begin, and is not let in that way, cannot come in at all. Thus a Man is not capable of forming to himſelf a Conception of more Senſes than thoſe Five which himſelf hath, and conſequently cannot perſuade himſelf, that there are, or can be more in Nature; but it does not follow from hence that there can be no more, becauſe he hath no Notion of any more. Who knows whether the many Difficulties which ſtill remain unaccounted for in many of the Works of Nature, and the Operations of Animals, that eſcape the niceſt Enquiry, and ſubtileſt Penetration of Humane Wit, may not be charged upon the Want of ſome Senſe, which we are not provided with to diſcern them? What the World uſually expreſſes by the Title of *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, and *Occult Qualities*, may have ſome Senſitive Faculties in Nature, accommodated to perceive, and make a competent Judgment of them; and perhaps our Ignorance of them is owing to our being deficient in this Point. Who can tell, whether it be not ſome particular *Sixth Senſe*, which informs the Cock, when it is Midnight, and the firſt Dawning of the Day, and, by ſome ſecret Impulſe, puts him conſtantly upon Crowing at thoſe Times? The ſame may be ſaid of that Direction, by which ſome Brutes are led

led to ſuch Herbs, as are proper for their Recovery, when ſick or ſurfeited; and of many other ſuch Things as theſe, which are notorious Matters of Fact, but the Reaſons of them perfectly unknown. This is a Caſe in which we are utterly in the dark; and no Man can be poſitively aſſur'd on either ſide of the Queſtion.

3. *Whether enough of them.*

Some indeed have undertaken to give a Reaſon for this particular Number of *Five Senſes*, and to prove that Theſe are ſufficient, by comparing and diſtinguiſhing them, and the Uſes they ſerve. All *Bodies* (ſay they) without us, which are Objects of our Senſes, are either very near and cloſe to Our Body, or they are at ſome diſtance from it: If they be cloſe to us, and ſtill remain without us, then they fall under our *Touch*: If they approach, and come into us, then they are the Objects of our *Taſte*: If they are more remote, and ſtand before us, ſo that their Diſtances are meaſur'd by a Right Line, then the *Sight* diſcerns them: If the Line be Oblique, and the Motion Reflex, then the *Hearing* does it. Now, methinks, the Diſtinction were better thus: Of the *Five Senſes* accommodated for the Service of the whole Man, as he is compounded of Body and Soul, ſome are appropriated to the Uſe of the Body only; and Theſe are the *Touch* and the *Taſte*; the One for all that enters within, the Other for that which continues ſtill without it. Some again are firſt and chiefly deſign'd for the Benefit of the Soul, and thoſe are *Sight* and *Hearing*; the Former to aſſiſt Invention; the Latter for Improvement and Inſtruction, and all manner of Communication. And One more in the midſt of theſe Extremes, fitted to thoſe Spirits and Avenues that belong to Soul and Body both, which is *Smelling*. Again, They anſwer to the *Four Elements*, and their reſpective Qualities; The *Touch* to the

Earth; *Hearing* to the *Air*; *Taſte* to *Water* and *Moiſture*; *Smelling* to *Fire*; and *Sight* to a Compound of *Water* and *Fire*, becauſe of the Brightneſs of the Eye. It is likewiſe pretended, that there are as many Senſes as there are General Diviſions of ſenſible Objects; and theſe are Colours, Sounds, Scents, Reliſhes, and a Fifth ſort, which wants a Name to expreſs it, adapted to the *Touch*, and comprehending all the Tactile Qualities, as Hot, Cold, Hard, Soft, Rough, Smooth, Sharp, and the reſt of them. But This is evidently a Miſtake; for the Number of the Senſes is by no means adjuſted, according to the Number of the Objects they are capable of. Nor are theſe Objects the Cauſe of their being juſt ſo many, and no more. Were this a good Account, it wou'd follow, that we muſt have been endu'd with a great many more than we now have; whereas now one and the ſame Senſe entertains Objects of different Kinds; and one and the ſame Object creates a Perception, and impreſſes it ſelf upon ſeveral Senſes at once. The moſt probable Account of this Matter ſeems rather to be, That the Senſes were intended for Means and Inſtruments of conveying Knowledge to us; and that Nature, which, as ſhe is not niggardly, ſo neither is ſhe profuſe, hath given us as many Senſes as are ſufficient for this purpoſe; and that when ſhe had ſupply'd us with enough for our Uſe, ſhe did not think fit to give us any more.

4. *A Compariſon of them.* Of Theſe the Senſe of *Seeing* does ſurpaſs all the reſt in the Quickneſs of its Operation; For it reaches the very Heavens in an Inſtant, and acts in the Air, which is full of Light and Images, without any Trouble or Motion; whereas all the reſt of the Senſes receive their Impreſſion by the Motion of thoſe Bodies which make it. And all Motion requires Time to be perform'd in; ſo that all the other Senſes muſt needs proceed more

ſlowly

ſlowly than This, which need but open its Organ, and is ſure to find Light and Colours ſtand always ready to be diſcern'd by it. All the Senſes are likewiſe capable of Pleaſure and Pain; but This is obſervable of the Two groſſeſt of them, That the *Touch* is capable of abundance of *Pain*, and but very little *Pleaſure*; and the *Taſte*, juſt contrary, feels a great deal of *Pleaſure*, and little or no *Pain*.

5. *The Weakneſs and Uncertainty of them.*

The *Weakneſs* and *Uncertainty* of our Senſes is the great Cauſe of our Ignorance and Error, and all ſort of Miſapprehenſion: For, ſince *Knowledge* is attain'd by the Mediation of the Senſes only, if theſe make a falſe Report, what can we do but receive and ſtick to it? But after all, who can teſt what Reports they make, or how can any Man accuſe them of Falſhood, ſince we learn all from Them, and, conſequently, even That which gives us this Jealouſy, and is the Ground of the Accuſation. Some indeed affirm, That the *Senſes are faithful* in all their Meſſages, and repreſent the very Truth; That, when we imagine they deceive us, the Fault is not in Them, but in ſomething elſe; and that we ought rather to lay it at any other Door; for no other Thing is ſo free from, ſo incapable of impoſing upon us. Some again run into the contrary Extreme, cry out upon the Senſes as downright *infamous Liars*, and tell you, That nothing at all of Certainty can be had from them. * But the Truth lies between theſe Extremes.

* *See Advertiſement.*

6. *The mutual Deceits of the Mind and the Senſes.*

Now, Whether the Senſes themſelves are deceiv'd or not, thus much at leaſt is evident, That they put a Cheat, nay, ſometimes a Conſtraint, upon *Reaſon*; and that, by an unhappy Viciſſitude, *Reaſon* pays them back in their own Coin, and returns the *Cheat* upon Them. And is not Man, think you, like to be wonderful Wiſe and Knowing, when the outward and the inward Inſtru-

ments of Inſtruction are eternally tricking one another, and his whole Compoſition is full of Falſhood and Weakneſs in the moſt neceſſary and eſſential Parts of it? Now, that the Senſes deceive, and commit a Violence upon the Underſtanding, we ſee plain enough in thoſe Inſtances, where Some of them immediately put us in a Rage, Others ſweeten and appeaſe the Soul, and Others again tickle and pleaſe it exceedingly. And why ſhou'd Men turn their Heads away, when they are let Blood, or lanced, or ſuffer Inciſions and Burnings, but from their Conſciouſneſs of the Power their Senſes have to *diſturb* their Reaſon; and that the ſame Thing is better born, when the Eyes do not obſerve the Operation? The Looking down a Pit, or a vaſt Precipice, diſorders and confounds a Man, tho' he knows at the ſame time, that he ſtands ſafe himſelf, and cannot reaſonably apprehend any danger of falling into it? And, to inſtance in no more, 'tis evident, that Senſe of Pain and Pleaſure both, does every Day vanquiſh, and utterly confound the beſt and braveſt Reſolutions of Virtue, and Temperance, and Patience.

Again, It is no leſs evident, that the Senſes on the other hand, are cheated by the *Underſtanding*. This is demonſtrated by thoſe Agitations of Anger, and Love, and Hatred, and other Paſſions, which impoſe upon us, and make us ſee and hear Things quite otherwiſe than they really are. Nay, ſometimes our Senſes are not only deceived, but perfectly ſtupify'd, and bound up from all Power of Action, by violent Diſorders of the Soul, as if the Soul retir'd inwards, and were entirely taken up there; For thus it often happens when our Mind is very intent upon ſomewhat elſe, the Eye never ſees, nor takes the leaſt Notice of thoſe Objects that ſtand directly before it, and preſent themſelves to our View. And Reaſon and Senſe judge very diffe-

differently of the Magnitude of the Sun and Stars, and of the Shape of a Stick in the Water.

7. *Theſe Senſes are common to Men and Brutes.*

Other Living Creatures have a Share in this Gift of Nature as well as We, and ſometimes are more liberally dealt with in it: For ſome are quicker of Hearing than Men; Others have a ſtronger and clearer Sight; Others a nicer Smell; and Others a more diſtinguiſhing Taſte. The general Opinion is, That a *Stag* excells all other Creatures in *Hearing*, an *Eagle* in *Seeing*, a *Dog* in *Smelling*, an *Ape* in *Taſting*, and a *Tortoiſe* in *Feeling*. But yet the Pre-eminence in this laſt hath been allow'd to *Man*; which is not much for our Credit, ſince This, of all the Senſes, is reckon'd the groſſeſt and moſt brutal. In the mean while, this Reflexion upon what hath gone before, may not be unſeaſonable; That if the Senſes are the Means and Inſtruments of Knowledge, and Brutes have Senſes too, nay, frequently more acute and penetrating than Ours, there may a fair Argument be drawn from hence, for Their partaking in Knowledge with us, as well as they partake of the Helps and Means that convey it to us.

8. *It is hard to truſt our Senſes.*

But tho' the Senſes be the *Inſtruments of Knowledge*, yet are they not the *only* Inſtruments; much leſs are our own Senſes alone to be conſulted or depended upon in the Caſe: For if it happens that Brutes have from Their Senſes a Report different from that which Ours make, and the Judgment given upon that Evidence do conſequently diſagree with the Notions we form to our ſelves, (as in ſundry Inſtances 'tis plain it does happen) which of theſe two Teſtimonies ſhall we believe? Our *Faſting-Spittle cleanſes* and *heals* our own *Wounds*, and yet it *kills a Serpent*: Now from Two ſo different Effects, what Concluſion can be made concerning the true Nature of Humane Spittle? Shall we ſay that it is of a Drying and a Cleanſing,

or of a Poyſonous and Killing Quality? To make any certain Determination of the Operations of Senſe, we ſhou'd do well, methinks, to agree with the Brutes, who have the ſame Faculties as well as We. But the leaſt that can poſſibly be requir'd in order to it, is, That we ſhou'd be conſiſtent with our own ſelves, and that the ſame Judge, and the ſame Evidence ſhou'd always concur in the ſame Sentence. And yet even This we are not come to: Shut your Eye, and put your Finger upon part of the Lid, and this Eye ſo preſs'd ſees Things after another manner, than it does in the Natural and Common Poſture. Stop your Ear, and the Sound is vaſtly different from what it is in the ordinary Impreſſion: Theſe Differences every Man, when he will, may make for himſelf. But ſome there are which Nature hath made to our Hand: A Child Taſtes, and Hears, and Sees much otherwiſe than a Grown Man; and a Man in his full Strength differs no leſs from an Old Man; One in perfect Health, from a Sick Perſon; a Wiſe Man from a Fool. Now where the Diverſity and Diſtance is ſo great, nay, where there is even a Contrariety of Perceptions, where ſhall we fix, or what can we depend upon for Truth? Even one Senſe contradicts and gives the Lie to another; for a Piece of *Painting* which ſeems Raiſed, and in *Relief* (as they term it) to the Eye, when we come to feel it with the Hand, is perfectly flat and ſmooth.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN order to giving the Reader a right Notion of the Matter treated of in this Chapter, I ſhall beg leave to detain him a little, with the Conſideration of theſe *Three Particulars.*

Firſt, What dependence may be had upon the *Evidence of Senſe.*

Secondly, Whence thoſe *Miſtakes* do really proceed, which we find ſometimes charg'd upon the *Deceivableneſs of our Senſes.*

Thirdly, Whether All our Knowledge depends upon our *Senſes*, ſo as that we can know nothing but by Their means.

I. *As to the Evidence of Senſe*; This is what all Mankind, who have ever allow'd any thing of Knowledge or Certainty at all, conſtantly look'd upon, as the ſureſt and moſt irrefragable in all thoſe Caſes, which are the proper Objects of it: And therefore He that went about to evacuate or weaken this, was eſteem'd a Man not fit to be diſputed with: Becauſe one muſt needs deſpair of producing any better and more convincing Proofs, and ſo he muſt continue in incurable Ignorance, unleſs we cou'd ſuppoſe ſo abſurd a Proceſs in arguing, as that a Man ſhou'd be perſuaded of a thing more manifeſt, by a *Medium* which is leſs ſo. It were an Affront to Humane Nature, to endeavour the eſtabliſhing this by Arguments, ſince none ever diſclaim'd the Truth of it, but They who wou'd not allow us to be ſure that any Thing was true; and conſequently, cou'd no more depend upon their own Objections againſt it, than they cou'd upon the Thing they brought them againſt. Therefore *Lucretius* hath very deſervedly expos'd the Folly of ſuch perverſe Scepticks, in his *Fourth Book.*

Denique

Denique nil ſciri ſiquis putat, &c.

He that ſays Nothing can be known, o'erthrows
His own Opinion; for He Nothing knows;
So knows not That. What need of long diſpute?
Thoſe Maxims kill Themſelves, Themſelves confute:
But grant This might be known, and grant He knew;
Yet ſince he hath diſcover'd nothing true,
What Mark, and what Criterion then can ſhow,
Or tell, what 'tis to know, *or* not to know?
Or how cou'd He what's Truth, *what's* Falſhood *learn?*
How what was Doubt, *what* Certainty *diſcern?*
From Senſe all Truth and Certainty infert,
In vain ſome ſtrive to prove that Senſe can err;
For that which wou'd convince, which wou'd oppoſe
The Senſes, muſt be ſurer far than thoſe.

So that upon theſe Terms, it is evident all Knowledge muſt be given up, becauſe if our Senſes be falſe, we can have no ſtronger Conviction than what ariſes from Them, that any thing is true; nor that there is ſuch a thing as *Truth* or *Falſhood* in the World. But beſides, if it were proper to argue in ſuch a Caſe, any reaſonable Perſon wou'd find no difficulty in the Belief of this Matter; For if he only allow the *Being of a God*, and conſiders the mighty Conſequence of our Senſes to us in all our Affairs whatſoever; it can never enter into one's Head, that a Being of ſuch Perfections wou'd leave his Creatures in perpetual Ignorance and Uncertainty, and give them ſuch Organs and Inſtruments, as ſhou'd only deceive and confound them: For God indeed is the true Efficient Cauſe of all our Senſations, and the Foundation of our Certainty; and his Goodneſs and Truth are our Pledges, that we are not miſtaken

ſtaken, and always in the wrong, in the due Uſe of thoſe Faculties he hath given us to diſtinguiſh Things by.

Again: If we obſerve the Manner how theſe Operations are perform'd, that it is by External Impreſſions, by which the Object ſtrikes upon the proper Organ, and that Impreſſion is continu'd till it be carry'd on to that, which is called the *Common Senſory*, or the inward Seat of Senſe; All this muſt depend upon the ſame neceſſary Laws of *Matter* and *Motion*, by which *Bodies* in general act upon one another. And therefore, ſuppoſing the ſame Object, the ſame Force of Impreſſion, the ſame Situation, the ſame Diſpoſition of the Organ, the ſame *Medium*, and the like; the Report of the Senſe cannot but be the ſame: But where there is a Variation in any of theſe, the Perception is under a neceſſity of Varying too. Thus, (to uſe the Inſtance mention'd by *Charron*) when part of the Eye-Lid is preſs'd down by the Finger, the Rays are differently admitted into the Pupil, and fall upon two ſeveral places of the *Tunica Retina*, which conſequently creates a twofold Impreſſion of the Object: And This Duplicity is as natural and neceſſary in ſuch a Diſpoſition of the Eye, as truly agreeable to all the Rules of *Matter* and *Motion*, as a ſingle Repreſentation wou'd be in the uſual Poſture; ſo far from a Reflexion upon the Truth of Senſe, that our Senſes could not be true, if the thing were otherwiſe repreſented. A proportionable Difference muſt needs follow in the different Modifications of Light and Shades; (which is the Reaſon of that Appearance taken notice of here, of Pieces in *Relief*) the dextrous Management whereof makes the great Secret of the *Art of Painting*. So it is again, if there be any thing uncommon in the *Medium* through which the Rays paſs from the Object to the Organ

gan of Senſes; which is the Caſe of Priſmes, or of Eyes, either diſtorted in their Situation, or diſcolour'd in any of the Humours: and as Theſe make a Change in the repreſented Colour of the Object, ſo does the Contraction or Dilatation of the Pupil, in the Magnitude or Figure of it. And the Eye, and other Organs of Senſe, varying by Age, Sickneſs, Nature, or Accidents, unavoidably require different Senſations, in Perſons of different Years and Conditions. The Matter coming much to one, whether the Object be variouſly repreſented through Diſtance, or its own Poſture and Form, or through ſome Change and Defect of the Organ, which receives the Impreſſion. All Which ſufficiently accounts for the differing Senſations of Children, Grown-Men, and Aged Perſons; the different Taſtes of the Sick and the Healthful; and indeed the vaſt Diverſity of Palats among Mankind in general: For here is a mighty Diverſity in the Organ of Senſe; and the making one and the ſame Report is therefore impoſſible: For our Senſes are like Meſſengers, and all their Buſineſs is, To be Faithful and True in delivering their Errand, as they have receiv'd it. If it were not given as it ought to be at firſt, (that is, if there be any accidental Defects to change the Appearance) This they are not reſponſible for; but they are to tell what they feel, and hear, and ſee; and in This they are faithful, and may be depended upon. For, That they may be truſted even in Matters of the greateſt Conſequencee, is beyond all reaſonable Contradiction; not only from the moſt neceſſary and important Matters of Humane Life, being carry'd on upon the Confidence of this Teſtimony, but (which to a Chriſtian is much more conſiderable) from all the External Evidences of *Religion* being put upon this Iſſue. The Life and Death, the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of our Bleſſed

Bleſſed Saviour, the Doctrines he taught, and the Miracles he did in Confirmation of them, being ſo many Appeals to the Senſes of thoſe with whom he convers'd, and the great Motive to Perſuaſion, which the Apoſtle urges, is, that he deliver'd That to his Proſelytes concerning the Word of Life, of which they had had all poſſible Demonſtrations, ſince it was what He and his Fellow-Preachers *had heard, what they had ſeen with their Eyes, what they had looked upon,* and their *Hands had handled.* All which was certainly a very weak and impertinent Allegation, if the Senſes are ſo liable to Miſtakes, and ſo uncertain a Foundation of Knowledge, that we cannot with ſafety fix any Concluſions from the Reports they make to us. And yet it cannot be deny'd, but Men do very frequently err by too eaſie a Credulity in this reſpect, which miniſters ſufficient ground for our Second Enquiry. 1 John I. 1.

II. *Whence thoſe Errours do really proceed, which we find ſometimes charged upon the Deceiveableneſs of our Senſes.* In This, as well as ſome Other Particulars, *Epicurus* ſeems to have been very unfairly dealt withal by the *Stoicks*, and ſome other Philoſophers of a contrary Party; who, becauſe he aſſerted the Truth of the Senſes, and vindicated their Fidelity in Reporting, have charg'd him with affirming, that a Man cou'd not poſſibly miſtake in forming Judgments according to thoſe Appearances. Whereas in Truth *Epicurus* only places the Senſes in the Quality of Evidence, whoſe buſineſs it is to relate bare Matter of Fact, but does by no means deny the Juriſdiction of the Court to which thoſe Accounts are given, to paſs Sentence as ſhall ſeem juſt and equal. To this purpoſe is that περισμυθόμενον, which *Diogenes Laertius* in his Tenth Book mentions; and *Gaſſendus* in his Comment upon it, ſo rationally enlarges upon. By which is meant, that

that Men ought to avoid Precipitation, and not raſhly pronounce, that Things are in reality as they are repreſented; but calmly and ſlowly examine Circumſtances, and obſerve the Cauſes of ſuch Repreſentations. Thus likewiſe *Lucretius* in his Fourth Book, after having inſtanc'd in ſeveral Appearances, which, when ſtrictly enquir'd into, are found to differ from the Nature of the Things themſelves, cloſes his Account with theſe very ſignificant Verſes,

Cætera de genere hoc mirando multa videmus,
Quæ violare fidem quaſi ſenſibus omnia quærunt.
Nequicquam. Quoniam pars horum maxima fallit,
Propter Opinatus animi, quos addimus ipſi, &c.

Which the *Engliſh* Reader may take from Mr. *Creech* thus:

Ten Thouſand ſuch appear, Ten Thouſand Foes
To Certainty of Senſe; and All *oppoſe:*
In vain. 'Tis Judgment, not the Senſe miſtakes,
Which fancy'd *Things for* real *Objects takes.*

If then One Light appear to be Two, when the Eye-Lid is preſs'd; if a Square Building at a Diſtance ſeem Round; if a Piece in Perſpective ſeem a Cloyſter or a Portico; a Man is not preſently to conclude that theſe are really ſuch; nor can he be excus'd if he do ſo. For Reaſon and Conſideration wou'd convince him, that theſe Idea's muſt be ſo, and cou'd not be otherwiſe; That the unnatural Diſpoſition of the Eye muſt needs double the Image in the firſt Inſtance; That the Diſtance of the Object will naturally cut off the Angles, and render the Perception leſs diſtinct, in the ſecond; and that Shades artificially caſt, and ſome Strokes of the Pencil or Style bolder and ſtronger than

than the reſt, will of neceſſity create imaginary Protuberances, and imaginary Diſtances in the Laſt. What Courſe then ſhall one take to prevent Errours in theſe Caſes? In general; he muſt not be too haſty in giving Judgment, but bring theſe Things to the Teſt. The Firſt muſt be viewed with his Eye in its uſual Form and Condition; the Second he muſt make nearer Approaches to, and view it cloſe at Hand: For the Third he may call in another Senſe to his Aſſiſtance; and if the Eye alone cannot, the Touch muſt ſet him right.

But to this *Charron* replies, and not only He, but *Lucretius*; That no One Senſe can poſſibly correct another:

An poterunt Oculos Aures reprehendere, an Aures
Tactus? &c.

What? Can the Ears convince the Eyes? Can Thoſe
Confute the Hand, the Palate, or the Noſe?
Tell them wherein they err, when e'rr they miſs,
And give falſe Notices? Fond Fancy this!
For Each a proper Uſe and Power enjoys,
A proper Object every Senſe employs.

But after all, What is the true Meaning of this Argument, and how much does it amount to? No more than this. That All the Senſes are not equally adapted to receive and diſtinguiſh all manner of Objects: that Each of them is equally Faithful in thoſe peculiar to it: And conſequently, the Eyes cannot correct the Ear in Sounds; nor the Ear the Noſe in Smells: But does it follow from hence, that when two, or more of theſe Evidences are joyned, they will not corroborate the Teſtimony, and give a firmer Aſſurance? or that Rea-

Reaſon, which is the proper Judge may not ſift out the Truth by confronting theſe Evidences againſt one another? This is a Conſtruction wholly Foreign to the Place, and to the Philoſopher's Deſign. And therefore (ſays *Empiricus*) *as Phyſicians pronounce of a Diſeaſe not from One ſingle Symptom, but from the Concurrence of ſeveral; and a Fever is diſtinguiſh'd, not only by the quickneſs of the Pulſe, but by the Exceſs of Heat, the Redneſs of the Complexion, the Height of the Water, the Exceſſive Thirſt, and other Characters known to the Skilful in that Art; So a doubting Philoſopher makes a Judgment of Truth, by the Co-incidence and good Agreement of ſeveral Ideas compar'd together.* And to the ſame Purpoſe, *Macrobius* hath deſcribed the Proceſs fit for ſuch Caſes. If (ſays he) *a Man ſees the Figure of an Apple at a Diſtance, it does not preſently follow that this is a real Apple; becauſe this Reſemblance may be form'd out of other Materials. What* Saturn 7. 14. *then ſhall he do to ſatisfie himſelf? Let him put it to the Tryal of another Senſe, and judge of it by the Smell: But poſſibly it may have lain among Apples, and retain the Scent: Then conſult the Touch, and examine the Weight of it: But perhaps the Cunning Artificer hath been very Nice in adjuſting this too; If ſo, let him have recourſe to the Taſte, and if he find the true Reliſh of an Apple; theſe concurring Evidences leave no reaſonable Doubt of its being really the very Fruit it at firſt ſeem'd to be.* From hence it does not only appear, what Care ought to be taken in judging the Repreſentations of Senſe; but likewiſe, how it comes to paſs, that Men ſo often err upon this Occaſion. That it is meerly the Effect of Raſhneſs, and Negligence; and the determining more than we have Evidence for. For theſe Ideas, and Impreſſions give us only the Appearances, and external Accidents of Things; and ſo long as we affirm them to appear ſo to us, we are ſafe, and cannot err. But if from theſe Accidents we ſhall under-

undertake to determine of their Subſtance and Nature: If we ſhall definitively ſay, They actually are what they appear, our own Mind miſguides us; and the Fault lies not in the Evidence, which told us true; but in the Judge, who decides the Cauſe, without canvaſing the Witneſſes, and declares That for Right and Truth, which was never pos'd before him.

My Reader will eaſily apply what hath been ſaid here (perhaps too tediouſly) to what our Author inſinuates of the mutual Cheat, in his Sixth *Paragraph* of this *Chapter*. For hence it is that our Panick Fears, and other groundleſs and violent Paſſions of the Mind, grow to ſuch Exceſſes, that they run away with the Firſt Impreſſions, and never call in Reaſon, to calm and moderate the Diſorder of the Spirits; but are perfectly tranſported in the preſent Heat and Agitation, and inſtead of examining, magnify the tormenting Ideas to themſelves. All which is in no degree owing to the Natural Defect, either of Senſe or Reaſon; but to Strength of Paſſion, and Neglect of ſuch timely Remedies, as Nature hath provided us with, if not wholly to prevent, yet at leaſt to abate, and ſoften, and reduce it to a convenient Temper.

III. I proceed now to the laſt Enquiry, *Whether all our Knowledge depend upon the Senſes, ſo as that we can know nothing but by Their Means.* Here *Gaſſendus* forſakes me, and fiercely vindicates that receiv'd Opinion of ſome Old Philoſophers, *That nothing can come at the Underſtanding, except it paſs thro' ſome of the Senſes in its Way thither.*

It is not aſſerted by thoſe who undertake to maintain that Opinion, That nothing more can be known by us, than what the Impreſſions of Senſe give us an immediate Perception of; but that we are inſtructed from Reflexion as well as

Senſation; ſo that, by abſtracting, enlarging, or otherwiſe modifying our Ideas, we come to underſtand the Nature of Things; yet ſo as that we can underſtand nothing, except the Ideas of it are entertain'd clearly and diſtinctly; either ſo as to repreſent to us the Thing it ſelf; or ſo as to give us ſufficient Matter for Reflection to work upon, in raiſing freſh Ideas from it.

I. Thus it is, that they pretend to anſwer the Argument commonly urged againſt them, from that very Power we find in our ſelves, and the common Exerciſe of it, to correct the Errors of Imagination. For if all *Perceptions* of the *Mind* were *Corporeal Images* of the *Brain*, we muſt neceſſarily judge according to the Report of our Senſitive Organs; and ſo the Sun muſt be concluded no bigger than he appears. No (ſay they) for the Mind knows very well that Diſtance leſſens the Object to the Eye; and therefore reflecting agreeably to the Rules given in the former Particular, it pronounces the Sun vaſtly bigger than it ſeems. But ſtill, All this will not amount to thoſe Reaſons, which adjuſt its Magnitude, to be 160 times bigger than the Earth. Or, If they would, yet Proportions and Diſtances are meer Reſpects, and ſuch as we can have no Corporeal Images of. Theſe then are the Effect of another Principle; and ſo is the Determinate Magnitude of this Body; for tho' inlarging the Idea, and allowing for Diſtance, would create an Image vaſtly Bulky perhaps; yet this could not ſtate the exact Dimentions, nor form the Compariſon in ſuch Odds, between that Globe of Fire, and this of Earth.

II. Another Argument againſt all *Knowledge* proceeding *from the Senſes*, is taken from Thoſe, which are commonly call'd the *Reflex Acts of the Mind*, ſuch as we perceive our Own Operations and Thoughts by: For all Ideas, which are intromitted by the Senſes,

Senſes, come from Material Objects, and ſuch Impreſſions are ſubject to the common Laws of Matter; one of which is, To act by Impulſe, and upon ſomething elſe, but not upon it ſelf. So that it is impoſſible for the Mind to have its own Image convey'd through the Organs of Senſe; and conſequently theſe ſorts of Operations, by which it retires inward, and recollects, and views it ſelf; As they are undeniable in Fact, ſo are they in all Reaſon to be aſcribed to ſome other Power than *Imagination*; and ſuch as the Senſes and External Impreſſions have nothing to do in.

III. But though we ſhould allow, that the Mind (as ſome have contended, though they have not been able to prove it) can by Similitude, Abſtraction, and ſuch other Methods, form Ideas even of theſe Things; yet what ſhall we ſay to the Caſe of *Immaterial Subſtances*? And that ſuch there are, a Reflection upon our own Souls, the Objects about which they are converſant, their ſeveral Operations, and the manner of them, very incompatible with Matter and the Laws of Motion, will not ſuffer reaſoning People to doubt. Now if all Knowledge be derived from our Senſes, it muſt proceed from ſuch Ideas as are drawn upon the Imagination, by Impreſſions upon the outward Organ, convey'd thither in the uſual Courſe and Method of Senſation; but theſe Impreſſions cannot be made otherwiſe, than by *Matter* and *Motion*; and conſequently, either we can have no diſtinct Notion, no Aſſurance of any Immaterial Subſtances; or elſe we may have ſome Knowledge which does not depend upon, nor accrue to us from our Senſes.

IV. At this rate, neither can we have any Idea at all of the Firſt and moſt Perfect Being, God himſelf: For what Repreſentations can Senſe

give us? What Reflections can it help us to, of a Being Infinite and Eternal, Independent, and produced from no other Cauſe; ſuch as hath the Properties of *Self*, and *Neceſſary Exiſtence* inſeparable from the Notion of it? It is not the Image of an Old Man, nor the multiplying of Years into a vaſt Duration, that will do the Buſineſs here; for ſtill the main Difficulty, of never beginning, never ending; Self-Origination, or αὐτοθέσις remains; and will for ever remain, not only incapable of any ſenſible Repreſentation, but a Contradiction to them all. And yet *Reaſon* aſſures us, That ſuch a Being there certainly is; nay, that there needs muſt be; for without it, nothing could ever have been at all; but We muſt loſe our Selves, and all our Ideas, in a Maze and infinite Circle of Cauſes; and ſhall never be able to account for the Exiſtence of any Thing, which our Senſes are confeſs'd to repreſent to us, unleſs we admit of One thing, which, it muſt be confeſs'd, they never can give us any ſort of Repreſentation of.

V. Once more. To come lower, and obſerve even Corporeal Subſtances themſelves. Such as we ſee, and feel, and converſe with every Moment. From ſuch as theſe it is that our Senſes are moved. But let us conſider, what it is that moves them; or how far we can be inform'd by ſuch Impreſſions... Now it is granted on all Hands, That *Senſe* can only inſtruct us in the Modes and Accidents of Things; and yet All thinking Men muſt allow that thoſe Accidents are not capable of ſubſiſting alone. So that we can learn this way the Powers and Properties of Things, but not the Things themſelves. Thus, while we are forced to make a Difference between the Natural and Real Eſſence, and the Properties or Accidents inherent in that Nature; we muſt yield plainly, that all our Knowledge is ſo far from depending upon *Senſe*, that we

we cannot know any one Thing by it. Since every Man's Reaſon undeniably aſſures him, that there is ſomething more intimate and deep, which no Ideas can reach to; and without which thoſe Superficial Qualities, of which he hath any Idea, could not poſſibly ſubſiſt.

Upon the whole Matter it is certain, that there muſt be ſome common Notices and Principles, ſuch as evidence themſelves to every conſidering Mind, which do not only aſſiſt, but carry us beyond any ſenſible Ideas, or any Reflections they can be improved into: Concerning which, if my Reader deſire more full Satisfaction, and would ſee this Argument illuſtrated at large, he will do well to conſult the incomparably Learned and Judicious Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, in his late *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*. Chap. X.

I add only upon this Occaſion, That the foregoing Reaſons are of good Force to prove, that the Humane Soul is of a more Noble Principle than *Matter*. For, indeed, not only *Reaſon*, but *Senſation*, is not to be ſolved upon other Terms. Of which the Modern Philoſophers were well aware; who, when they aſſerted the Souls of Brutes to be meer Matter, ſoon found an abſolute Neceſſity of affirming, that they were altogether void of Senſe too: For tho' the outward Impreſſion be made upon the Organ, yet it is a Reflex Act, which makes the Senſation, and informs the Patient of it. And ſuch Acts they have not been able to conceive how *Matter* ſhould be capable of. Since it is the Property of one Body to act upon another, but no Body can act upon it ſelf.

CHAP. XI.

Of Sight, Hearing, and Speech.

Theſe Three compared together.

THeſe are the Three Jewels, the moſt excellent and valuable Endowments, that belong to the Body of Man: None that appear to outward View, are comparable to them; but it will bear ſome Diſpute which of the Three ought to be preferr'd. As to the Organ, by which they are perform'd, it muſt be confeſs'd, that That of the *Sight* is admirable for its charming Form, and nice Compoſition; it is beautiful, lively, and ſparkling, made up of great Variety; its Parts ſubtle and ſmall; and their Humours mix'd to Aſtoniſhment, both for Uſe and Comelineſs. From whence that common Obſervation hath obtained, that the *Eye* is one of thoſe Parts, which Nature firſt begins to form, and finiſhes one of the laſt. Upon the ſame Account This is one of the tendereſt and moſt delicate Parts about us: Subject to a vaſt number of Diſeaſes and Infirmities. Phyſicians and Anatomiſts have reckon'd no leſs than a Hundred and Twenty Indiſpoſitions incident to it. *Speech* is eſteem'd the next in Dignity, but *Hearing* makes ſome amends for the laſt and loweſt Place, by the many great Advantages belonging to it. *Sight* ſeems to be the moſt neceſſary and moſt ſerviceable to the Body. And this ſeems to be the reaſon, why it is of greater Conſequence to Brutes, whoſe Advantages are chiefly Corporeal, than Hearing can be: But *Hearing* ſeems to challenge the Preference, with regard to the Advantages and Improvement of the Mind. *Sight* is principally uſeful for Invention,

vention, for moſt Things are diſcover'd by the help of this Senſe; but tho' it lays the firſt Foundations, and gives the Hints, yet it brings nothing to Perfection. It is farther to be conſider'd, that Sight is capable of Perception in nothing but what is Corporeal, and it gives no Knowledge of Univerſals. Individuals and Bodies are its proper Object, and it cannot penetrate into theſe any deeper than the Shell or Surface. It is the proper Inſtrument of Ignorant and Unlearned Men, who look no farther than that which is juſt before them, and makes an Impreſſion upon the outward Senſes.

2. *Hearing preferr'd.*

Hearing may be term'd an *Inward* and *Spiritual Senſe*: It is the Agent and Conveyer of Intelligence to the Underſtanding; the Inſtrument of Learning and Thought; and receives not only Individuals, as Sight does, but dives into their moſt ſecret and abſtruſe Parts; nay, it hath a Capacity ſo large as to comprehend General, Spiritual, Abſtracted, and Divine Truths; ſuch as Sight is ſo far from giving us any Aſſiſtance in, that it rather diſturbs and confounds us in the Diſquiſition of them. Accordingly, there have been many Inſtances of Great Men who have been blind, and yet ſingularly eminent for Wiſdom and Knowledge; and ſome of Perſons who have depriv'd themſelves of Sight, in order to the becoming more exquiſite Philoſophers; but no one Example of either of theſe kinds can be produced in Deaf Perſons. This is the Gate by which we enter, and ſtorm the Caſtle; By This we bend the Mind to Good or Evil. So Profane Story tells us of *Agamemnon*'s Queen, whoſe Chaſtity was preſerv'd by Muſick: And ſo Sacred Story relates, that *Saul*'s Evil-Spirit was charm'd by *David*'s Harp: And ſo the *Roman* Hiſtory obſerves, that *Gracchus*, the famous Orator, ſweeten'd his Voice by the help

of one that play'd to him upon the Flute, and taught him ſuch Tones as were moſt moving, and for his purpoſe. In ſhort, This is the Only Paſſage that Learning, and Truth and Vertue have found to our Souls; and the *Goſpel* it ſelf enters by it: For the Apoſtle hath told us, That *Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God.* And that they who obſtinately ſtick to the Report of their Sight, will find it rather an Obſtruction than an Informer in the higheſt Myſteries of Religion. That *Faith is the Evidence of Things not ſeen,* and the Belief of Teſtimonies that are heard: And accordingly the Primitive Chriſtians had a Claſs of Believers to whom they gave the Title of *Audientes,* Hearers. To all This I may add, That This Senſe is of great Uſe in the Dark, and when Men are aſleep, by giving them ſeaſonable Alarms, and awakening them to provide for their Defence and Preſervation. Upon all theſe Accounts, the Philoſophers are ſo profuſe in their Praiſes of *Hearing,* recommending the diligent Uſe of it, adviſing us to purge our Ears, and keep them clean from Prejudice and Corruption; This being the beſt Security, the ſureſt Guard of our Souls, as a Commander in Garriſon would make it his firſt and chief Care, to keep ſtrict Centry, and line the Gates and Walls well, for fear an Enemy ſhould ruſh in and ſurprize him.

Rom. x. 17.

Heb. xi. 1.

3. *The Power of Speech.*

Speech is a particular Favour of Nature to Mankind, and a very uſeful, neceſſary, and excellent Gift it is. Conſider it with reſpect to the Speaker, and it is the Image and Interpreter of the Soul; the Meſſenger of the Heart, the Door by which all that lies within, comes out, and ſhews it ſelf abroad. Whatſoever is born in Darkneſs, is thus brought forth into the Light; the Mind diſcovers and diſplays it ſelf moſt clearly this way; which gave occaſion to that Saying of one of the Ancients

ents, * *Speak, that I may know what you are.* Thus Men are like Veſſels, which by the Sound are quickly diſtinguiſh'd, whether they be broken or whole, full or empty; and Speech to Them is like the Touchſtone to Metals; the Counterfeit and the true Standard are immediately known by it.

But if we conſider it with regard to the Perſons to whom it is directed, thus it is a powerful and an imperious Maſter; enters the Caſtle, ſeizes the Governour; it moves and ſtirs him, it animates and encourages, it provokes and appeaſes, it raiſes and dejects him; it overwhelms him with Grief, and tranſports him with Joy; makes what Impreſſions, inſpires what Paſſions it pleaſes; manages and moulds the Soul into any Form, and bends it all manner of ways: Nay, it extends its Dominion over the Body too; makes that Red with Bluſhes, and Pale with Fear; provokes Laughter and Tears; forces it to ſtart and ſhiver; to tremble with Anger, leap for Joy, ſwoon and faint away with Violence of Paſſion.

Conſider it with regard to the World in general, and *Speech* is as it were the Hand of the Soul, which This uſes as the Body does the Natural one, for taking and receiving, for asking and for giving Aſſiſtance. This is the great Goer-between, the Carrier of Intelligence, the Factor for Trade †, as the *Latin* Etymologiſts tell us, that the Word which ſignifies *Traffick* and *Commerce*, derives it ſelf from *Mercury* the God of *Eloquence*. By It Treaties of Peace are made, War proclaim'd, all manner of Buſineſs publick and private negotiated and diſpatched; Learning, and all the hidden Treaſures of the Mind uttered and diſtributed: For This in Truth is the Original and the Inſtrument of all Communication; the Band and Cement of Hu-

* Eloquere, ut videam. † Merx à Mercurio.

mane

mane Society, (provided the Language be perfectly underſtood; for, as one of the Ancients ſaid, *A Man had better be in the Company of a Dog that he knows, and is acquainted with, than in that of another Man, who cannot make himſelf underſtood by us.* So that one Foreigner to another does by no means anſwer the † Character of his Nature, and is in effect as no Man.)

In ſhort, The *Tongue* is a Tool converted to all manner of Uſes; and Inſtrument of Good and Evil, as *Wiſdom* it ſelf hath taught us; *Life and Death are in the Power of the Tongue.* The Advantages and the Inconveniences that proceed from it are never to be expreſt; a prudent or an incautious, a wicked, or a conſcientious uſe of it, diſpoſes our own, and ſometimes other Peoples Fortunes; or draws down infinite Dangers; preſerves or deſtroys Reputation: So that nothing is of better or worſe Conſequence than the Tongue. *The Tongue of the Wiſe and Juſt* (ſays the ſame Divine *Wiſdom*) *is as choice Silver*, it is *Health*, it is *a Tree of Life*, enriching, healing, reconciling; a Preſervative and a Happineſs. It is as the Door to a Royal Cabinet, upon the opening whereof we immediately ſee a Thouſand precious Rarities, more beautiful, more valuable than all the Wealth of both the *Indies*; more fragrant and refreſhing than all the Gums and Spices of *Arabia*. The Wiſe draws out his Artillery in order, ſets his Philoſophical Aphoriſms and profitable Sentences in array, applies his Similitudes and Examples pertinently and ſeaſonably, improves others by his reading, and renders the Hiſtories of former Ages of preſent and publick Uſe, enriches all he converſes with out of his own inexhauſtible Mine; offers nothing but what is ſolid, and ſubſtantial, and try'd; and is ready

Prov. xviii. 21.

Of a good and ill Tongue. Prov. x. 20. xii. 18. xv. 4.

† Ut externus alieno non ſit hominis vice.

upon

upon all occaſions, (like the Wealthy and Prudent Houſholder alluded to in the Goſpel) *to bring forth out of his Treaſures things new and old.* Such beneficial Inſtructions as may be of uſe to regulate the Manners of private Perſons, and direct the Government and Adminiſtration of the Publick; ſuch as may be ſerviceable to all Circumſtances, all the Parts and Duties of Men, and teach them both how to Live, and how to Die well. And when Theſe are introduc'd at ſeaſonable Times, and manag'd with Diſcretion, the Beauty and the Pleaſure of them is exceeding great, as well as the Benefit and Advantage; *A Word fitly ſpoken is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver.* So the Wiſeſt of Men hath expreſs'd the Counſels, or Reproofs, or Comforts handſomly deliver'd; and what can poſſibly be more grateful, more valuable, more ornamental?

Mat. xiii.

Prov. xxv. 11.

The *Mouth* of a wicked Man, quite contrary, is a noiſom ſtinking Pit; his Breath is contagious, and kills like a Peſtilence; murders his Neighbour ſecretly, ſtabs and wounds his Reputation to Death; and then inſults over his mangled Honour with a barbarous Triumph. It is Sword, and Fire, and Poyſon, and Death, and Hell, and every thing that is Miſchievous and Deſtructive. The Holy Spirit it ſelf hath allow'd it no better a Character; for St. *James* hath call'd it a *Fire*, a *World of Iniquity*, a *Defiler of the whole Body, and Incendiary to the Courſe of Nature; and this Firebrand it ſelf kindled in Hell.* And the Son of *Syrach* hath enlarg'd upon the Subject ſo well, that the whole Paſſage ought to be inſerted. *Curſe the Whiſperer and Double-tongued, for ſuch have deſtroy'd many that were at Peace. A backbiting Tongue hath diſquieted many, and driven them from Nation to Nation; ſtrong Cities hath it pull'd down, and overthrown the Houſes of great Men. Whoſo hearkeneth unto it ſhall never find reſt, nor dwell quietly.*

Jam. iii. 6.

Ecclus. xxviii. 13—21.

The

The Stroke of the Whip maketh Marks in the Fleſh, but the Stroke of the Tongue breaketh the Bones. Many have fallen by the Edge of the Sword, but not ſo many as have fallen by the Tongue. Well is He that is defended from it, and hath not paſs'd through the Venom thereof; who hath not drawn the Yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her Bands. For the Yoke thereof is a Yoke of Iron; and the Bands thereof are Bands of Braſs. The Death thereof is an evil Death, the Grave is better than it.

4. *Correſpondence of Hearing and Speech.* Now theſe Two, *Hearing* and *Speech*, anſwer, and have a near and intimate Relation to one another; each of them ſingle is of no Significance at all; and therefore Nature, to make Either of them uſeful, found it neceſſary to ſupply us with Both. They are the Two Doors of the Soul, whereby ſhe ſends in and out, and holds a Correſpondence all the World over; nay, ſhe does not only ſend, but go; for by theſe two, like Veſſels with their Orifices joyn'd, the Soul communicates and pours out her Thoughts, and transfuſes her very Self into another's Breaſt. Where theſe Paſſages are ſhut and cloſed, as they are in the *Deaf* and *Dumb*, the Mind is in perpetual Miſery and Solitude; for *Hearing* is the Door for Entrance, and *Speech* for going Abroad: By the former of theſe, the Soul receives the Conceptions of others; by the latter ſhe imparts and enriches them with her own. The mutual Operation of theſe Two may be reſembled to the Flint and the Steel, from the Concuſſion and Strokes whereof, *Truth*, like a Sacred Fire, is kindled; for They agitating and poliſhing each other, ſcour off the Ruſt of the Mind, brighten and beautifie it, and bring all Knowledge to Perfection. Only we muſt obſerve, that theſe Noble Effects have their firſt Beginning from the Hearing; for Wiſdom muſt needs have been put into the Mind before it can be drawn

drawn out from thence. And accordingly we ſee that Perſons born Deaf, are conſtantly Dumb too. The firſt thing to be done is to furniſh this Houſe within, which is ordinarily done by Hearing; and then follows the diſtributing our Stores by Converſation and Speech: So that the Good and Evil of what we ſpeak, will depend upon the Good and Evil of what we hear: For ſuch as we are accuſtom'd to receive, ſuch of neceſſity we muſt give back again: And therefore a Man ſhould above all things keep his Ears chaſte and unpolluted, and ſtop them againſt Vice and Indecency; for this ſort of Communication is exceeding infectious, and taints the Mind preſently. The Advices that are proper for the Uſe and Government of our Speech, will be inſiſted upon hereafter. *Book* III. *Chap.* 43.

CHAP. XII.

Of the other Faculties, viz. *Imagination, Memory, and Appetite.*

THE *Fancy* or *Imaginative Faculty*, firſt collects the ſeveral Images receiv'd by the Senſes, forms Idea's out of them, and lays them up for uſe. This is done in ſo accurate and faithful a manner, that though the Objects themſelves be far diſtant, nay, though the Man be aſleep, and all his Senſes lock'd up, yet this Faculty repreſents them to the Mind and Thoughts, in Images ſo ſtrong, ſo lively, that the Imagination does the very ſame to the Underſtanding now, which the Object it ſelf did, by the firſt and freſheſt Impreſſions heretofore.

The

The *Memorative Faculty* is the Regiſter and Store-Houſe of all the Idea's and Images firſt perceiv'd by the Senſes, and then collected and ſeal'd up by the Imagination.

The *Appetite* ſeeks, and purſues, and culls out of all theſe things ſo apprehended, ſuch of them as appear to be Good and moſt Agreeable.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Intellectual Faculty; which is peculiar to the Humane Soul.

1. BEfore we enter upon any other Diſcourſe relating to this Subject, it is neceſſary to obſerve the Seat or Inſtrument of this Faculty, and then its Action, or Method of Operating.

The Seat and Inſtrument of the Soul. Now the Seat, or rather the Throne of the Reaſonable Soul, where it ſits and reigns Supreme, is not the Heart, (as was generally ſuppoſed before *Plato* and *Hippocrates*) but the Brain: For the Heart is not capable of Wiſdom, but is properly the Seat and Source of Vegetation. Now the Brain, which in Man much exceeds the Quantity aſſign'd to any other Creature, muſt be ſo contriv'd and diſpos'd, that the Reaſonable Soul may act freely; and in order hereunto, the Figure of it muſt be almoſt like that of a Ship; it muſt not be a perfect Round, it muſt not be too Great, nor too Little; though of the Two Extremes the Exceſs is much leſs to be found fault with, than the Defect: It muſt be compos'd of a delicate fluid Subſtance, of fine and ſubtle Parts, and theſe well joyn'd together, and all united without any Separation, or void Spaces throughout the whole. It hath Four ſmall Cavi-

ties

vities or Ventricles, Three of which lie forward in the middle, and are plac'd in a Collateral Line to one another: The Fourth lies behind theſe, toward the hinder part of the Head, and is ſingle by it ſelf. This is the Shop in which the Vital Spirits are firſt form'd and united, in order to the being afterwards converted into Animal Spirits, and then convey'd into the Three Cavities that lie forward: And theſe Animal Spirits are the Inſtruments made uſe of by the Soul, for diſcharging her ſeveral Functions, and exerciſing all her Faculties. Thoſe Faculties are likewiſe Three; the *Underſtanding*, the *Memory*, and the *Imagination*: And theſe are not exercis'd diſtinctly and apart, nor hath each of them a different Ventricle of the Brain appropriated to it; (which is all an old and vulgar Errour concerning them) but their Operations are altogether, and in common. All the Three Faculties exert themſelves in all and every of the Three Cavities; ſomewhat like our Bodily Senſes, which are double, and have Two Organs, in each of which the ſame Senſe performs all its Operations entire. From hence it comes to paſs, that a Man who is hurt or diſabled in Two of theſe Three Ventricles, (as one in a Palſie, for Inſtance) does yet continue to have the uſe of all his Three Faculties: That is, he underſtands, and remembers, and forms Idea's ſtill, by virtue of that One Cavity, which the Diſeaſe hath not yet ſeized upon. It is true, he does this more weakly, and every Operation of every kind is more imperfect than it was formerly, becauſe the Strength and Vigour of One is not equal to the united Force of Three: But yet it evidently follows from hence, that each Faculty hath not its Work-houſe in a diſtinct Apartment, and entire to it ſelf alone; for then, as ſoon as any of theſe Ventricles begins to be diſabled, that Faculty to which it be-

belongs, muſt immediately ceaſe, and cou'd never more be exerted in any Degree at all.

3. *How far the Reaſonable Soul is Organical.*

Some Perſons have been of Opinion, that the *Reaſonable Soul* is not Organical; that is, that it can act ſeparately and independently, and hath no need of any Corporeal Inſtrument to aſſiſt it in the Diſcharge of its Functions. And this Notion they have been more fond of, becauſe they imagine it of Conſequence for proving the *Immortality of the Soul.* Now without engaging in a vaſt and dark Labyrinth of Diſpute, about a Matter which we are incapable of knowing perfectly, this Queſtion may be brought to a ſhort Iſſue: For if we will but credit our own Eyes, and our own Experience, every Day gives us Demonſtrations, which overthrow this Opinion, and eſtabliſh the contrary. It is certain that all Men have not equal Capacities, nor do they apprehend things, or argue upon them alike, but the Diſparity is very great and viſible between one Man and another. It is no leſs evident, that the ſame Perſon changes, and differs from himſelf; that his Reaſon is more clear, and perfect, and ſtrong at one Time, and at one Age, in one Diſpoſition of Body, and in one Circumſtance of Fortune and Life, than it is in another. One Man can do nothing except he have Eaſe and Leiſure; another requires Dangers and Difficulties to rouze him, and never thinks to purpoſe, till he be preſt hard, and driven to Extremities: A Third finds himſelf much more capable in Health than in Sickneſs: And a Fourth feels his Mind moſt vigorous and active, than when his Diſeaſes and Weakneſs have reduc'd his Body loweſt. The ſame Man at one Seaſon excels in Judgment, and flags in his Fancy; ſo that One Faculty decays in proportion as Another improves. Now the moſt probable Account that can be given for all theſe Differences and Alterati-

rations, ſeems to be a Difference in the State and Diſpoſition of the Organs, which are to the Soul as Tools to the Artificer. Which way but this ſhall we anſwer for the ſtrange Effects we ſee produc'd by Drunkenneſs, by the Bite of a Mad Dog, by a high Fever, by a Blow upon the Head, by the Vapours that riſe from the Stomach and annoy the Brain; and by ſeveral other Accidents which affect any of the Parts thereabouts? What Confuſions do they make, how perfectly ſtupid, and childiſh, and frantick do Men grow upon them, loſe their Memory quite, and feel their Heads turn'd upſide down, their former Ideas eraced, their Judgment deſtroy'd? All the Wiſdom of *Greece* is not able to maintain it ſelf againſt them; and if the Shock be very violent indeed, then it does not only diſturb and enfeeble, but quite drive away the Soul, and conſtrain her to remove out of the Body. Now it is plain, that theſe Accidents are purely Corporeal, and conſequently they cannot affect what is not ſo; they can never fly ſo high as the Exalted and Spiritual Faculties of the Reaſonable Soul; all that they can do is to vitiate the Organs, to put Them out of their Courſe, and intercept the uſual Communications; and when This is once effected, the Soul can no longer act regularly; She may command, but They cannot obey; and if theſe Organs are ſore bruiſed, and diſtorted very grievouſly, then She and They can no longer ſubſiſt together: The Lodging is no longer fit to entertain her, and ſhe muſt be gone.

Now I do by no means ſee, how this Opinion can be guilty of any Prejudice to that of the *Immortality of the Soul*; For firſt, We are not here enquiring what the Soul is, but how ſhe operates, and what Laws of Action ſhe is bound up to, while in Conjunction with a Mortal Body. And

Secondly, The making Uſe of Corporeal Inſtruments, does by no means prove the Uſer to be Corporeal, or Mortal. God, without all Queſtion, is Immortal, and yet God himſelf does not think it below him to uſe ſuch; and to proportion the Effects and Operations of his Providence to them. He produces Men of different Underſtandings and Parts, according to the Conſtitution of their Parents, and the Concurrence of other Natural Cauſes; nay, even according to the different Climate, and Country, and Air they are born in. For *Greece* and *Italy* have ever been obſerv'd to produce Men of quicker and clearer Wit than *Muſcovy* and *Tartary*. And as God does in this Caſe, ſo does the Mind in others. It reaſons better or worſe, remembers more or leſs faithfully, hath a more fruitful, or more barren Imagination, according as the Organs (which are the Corporeal Inſtruments appointed to ſerve it upon theſe Occaſions) are better or worſe diſpoſed to do their Duty. Now the Brain is properly the Inſtrument of the Reaſonable Soul, and therefore upon the due Temperament of This, a great deal muſt needs, indeed the Whole in a manner, will depend: That therefore ſhall be the next Thing we attempt to give an Account of.

4. *Of the Temperament of the Brain.*

By this *Temperament* is to be underſtood the Mixture and Proportion of the *Four* Prime *Qualities*, *Hot* and *Cold*, *Moiſt* and *Dry*; or rather a *Fifth Quality*, which is, as it were, a Harmony reſulting from a due Conjunction of all theſe together, like that Concord in Sounds, which ariſes from a Friendly Complication of different Notes. Now upon that Mixture of the Brain it is, that the State and the Operations of the Reaſonable Soul depend. Only This is Man's great Unhappineſs, that the *Three Faculties*, *Underſtanding*, *Memory*, and *Imagination*, do each of them require different, nay, contrary Temperaments, for their Exerciſe and Perfection. The

Tempera-

Temperament proper for the *Underſtanding* is a Predominance of Dry; and this gives us ſome Account, how it comes to paſs, that Perſons far gone in Years, are more Intelligent and Judicious than thoſe that are Younger. For, beſides the Advantages which Art, and Study, and Experience may give them; they have a Diſpoſition to it from Nature; The Brain, as Men grow older, purifying it ſelf from Excrementitious Humours, and growing dryer every Day: For the ſame Reaſon, in all likelihood, Melancholy Perſons, and thoſe under Affliction and Want, and Perſons that are faſting (it being an Effect of Grief and Faſting to keep the Brain dry) may be better diſpoſed to think; and qualify'd to do it to good Purpoſe, as well as ſome of them are neceſſitated, by their Circumſtances, to apply themſelves to it. This is farther obſervable in Brutes; Ants, and Bees, and Elephants, as they are the dryeſt, ſo they are the moſt capable and ingenious of any; and thoſe of a moiſt Conſtitution, (the Swine for Inſtance) are ſtupid and ſenſeleſs. Thus again in Men; Thoſe of Southerly Countries excel in Wiſdom, from the Drought of their Brain, and their inward Heat being moderated by that of a violent Sun without, which exhales it.

The *Temperament* beſt accommodated to the *Memory* is *Moiſt*; and hence it is that Children are more ready and perfect in it than Old People; hence it is moſt apt and faithful in a Morning, when the Brain hath been well refreſhed, and throughly moiſtned by a good Night's Sleep; hence alſo the Inhabitants of the *Northern* Climates have the ſtrongeſt Memories, for Theſe are under a moiſter Air, by means of their great Diſtance from the Sun. But this Moiſture muſt not be ſo miſtaken, as if I meant, that the Temper of the Memory is fluid, like Water; but rather ſuch a

Moiſture as we may obſerve in Air, Glew, Greaſe, or Oyl; ſomething of ſuch a Subſtance and Continuity of Parts, as may both take the Impreſſion eaſily, and keep it a great while; as we ſee Pictures do that are laid in Oyl Colours.

The *Temperament* fitteſt for the *Imagination*, is *Hot*, which makes Diſtracted, Hair-brain'd, and Feveriſh People, excel all others in bold and lofty Flights of Fancy. Thus *Poetry*, *Divination*, and all that depends upon *Imagination*, were always thought to proceed from a ſort of Fury and Inſpiration. This Faculty is for the ſame reaſon moſt vigorous in Youth and the Flower of our Age: The Poets accordingly flouriſhed at theſe Years, and Almighty God, (who even in Supernatural Influences and Effects, made great Uſe of Natural Cauſes, and did as little Violence as was poſſible, to a Courſe of his own Inſtituting) order'd the Matter ſo, that moſt of the Prophets ſhould do ſo too. The ſame Reaſon holds likewiſe for thoſe Middle Regions, and more moderate Climates, between the *North* and the *South*, where Men are obſerv'd to excel in thoſe Arts and Sciences, which are deriv'd from the Strength and Sprightlineſs of Fancy.

Now, from this great Inequality of theſe Mixtures and Proportions, it frequently happens, that a Man may be tolerably well to paſs in all theſe Three Faculties, and not arrive at an Excellence in any one of them; as alſo, That a Man may be conſpicuous, and exceeding well Accompliſh'd in one of theſe Reſpects, and yet very Wanting and Deſpicable in the other Two. It is manifeſt, the *Temperaments* adapted for the *Memory* and the *Underſtanding*, are the moſt Diſtant and Contrary in the World; for what can be more ſo than *Moiſt* and *Dry*? That of the *Imagination* does not ſeem ſo remote from the reſt, for *Hot* will agree well enough with *Moiſt* or *Dry*, and is far from being

In-

Incompatible with either; and yet, tho' theſe ſeem ſo conſiſtent in Nature, we ſee them very ſeldom reconcil'd in Fact; For thoſe who are eſteem'd moſt Excellent in *Imagination*, are generally found very Weak both in Point of *Memory* and *Underſtanding*; and thought near a-kin to Fools or Mad-men. The Reaſon whereof may poſſibly be This. That the *Heat*, which feeds and exalts their *Imagination*, waſts and exhauſts that *Moiſture*, with which the *Memory* is aſſiſted; and alſo the fineſt and moſt volatile of Thoſe Spirits, of which that *Dryneſs* partakes, which is ſerviceable to the *Underſtanding*; and the Faculty, when deſtitute of theſe, grows flat and heavy. So that in effect This is an Enemy to both the other Temperaments, and Experience ſhews it to be deſtructive of them.

5. *But Three of them.*

From all that hath been ſaid we may plainly ſee, that the Principal *Temperaments*, which ſerve, aſſiſt, and ſet the Reaſonable Soul on working, and which diſtinguiſh the Excellencies of the Mind, according to its Faculties, are *Three*, and cannot exceed that Number. For *Cold*, which is the *Fourth*, is of no Significance at all; *Hot*, and *Moiſt*, and *Dry* only, can contribute to Mens Ingenuity. The Other is a ſluggiſh unactive Principle, and, inſtead of quickening, does only benumb and ſtupify the Soul, and put a Stop to all its Motions. Therefore, when in reading ſome Authors, we find them recommending *Cold*, as of Uſe to the *Underſtanding*, and ſaying, that Men of a Cold Brain, ſuch as thoſe of Melancholy Complexions, or under the Southern Climes, are Prudent, Wiſe, Ingenious, and the like; we muſt not there underſtand the Word *Cold* in its natural and moſt received Senſe, but interpret it of a large Abatement and more moderate Degree of *Heat* only. For nothing can be more oppoſite to *Wiſdom*, and a good Underſtanding, than that Exceſs of *Heat*, which yet to

the bettering of the Imagination, and refining the Fancy would be of great Importance. And, according to the Three Temperaments of the Brain, there are Three correſponding Faculties of the Reaſonable Soul. But both the One and the Other of Theſe admit of ſeveral Degrees; and may be variouſly ſubdivided and diſtinguiſhed.

6. *The Faculties Subdivided.* The Principal Offices to be diſcharged by the *Underſtanding*, and the different Qualifications of Men, with regard to it, are *Three*; To *conclude truly*, To *diſtinguiſh nicely*, and To *chooſe wiſely*. The Sciences that fall properly under this Faculty, are School-Divinity; The Speculative Part of Phyſick, Logick, Natural and Moral Philoſophy.

The *Memory* hath likewiſe Three Qualities to be diſtinguiſh'd by. For there is *One ſort of Memory*, which eaſily receives Impreſſions, and eaſily loſes them again. A *Second*, which quickly remembers, and ſeldom or never forgets; and a *Third*, where the Impreſſion is hard to be made, and yet is preſently worn out again. The Sciences proper to this Faculty are Grammar, and the Theory of the Civil Law, Dogmatical Divinity, Coſmography, and Arithmetick.

7 The *Imagination* abounds in Diſtinctions, and Differences are occaſion'd by it, much more than either the *Memory* or the *Underſtanding* is capable of. To this belong, after a more pecular manner, Fanciful Inventions, Pleaſant Conceits, Witty Jeſts, Sharp Reflections, Ingenious Repartees; Fictions and Fables, Figures and Compariſons, Propriety and Purity of Expreſſion; and, in a Word, All that Quaintneſs, and Elegance, and Eaſineſs, which adorns Converſation, and becomes the Character of a Man of Senſe and Good Breeding. And therefore we may range under this Diviſion, Poetry, Eloquence, Muſick, Correſpondence, Harmony, and Proportion.

Now

Now, from hence it appears, that Sprightlineſs, Subtilty, Readineſs of Parts, and all that which commonly goes by the Name of *Wit*, is to be imputed to the *Warmth of Imagination*; *Solidity*, *Mature Judgment*, and Truth, to the *Dryneſs of the Underſtanding*. The *Imagination* is Active, and Bluſtering, and Buſy; keeps all about it awake, and ſets the other Faculties on *work*. The *Underſtanding* is a grave, ſedate, and ſevere Action; The *Memory* acts not at all, but is purely Paſſive; and the manner of theſe Operations ſeems to be thus. In the Firſt Place, the *Imagination* collects together the Ideas and Figures of Things, not only ſuch as are preſent by the Conveyance and Miniſtry of the Five Senſes; but thoſe that are abſent too, by the Aſſiſtance of that Inward and Common Receptacle, called the *Senſorium commune*, where the Forms of them lie depoſited. The next Thing in order, is to repreſent theſe to the *Underſtanding* (if that be thought fit) and then this Faculty takes them into Conſideration; examines, digeſts, and makes a Judgment of them. When That is over, the *Imagination* lays them up carefully to be preſerved in the *Memory*; as a Man takes down a Memorandum in his Table-Book) that ſo they may be conſulted, and made uſe of again, when any future Occaſion ſhall call for them. Or if the *Imagination* be not ſo diſpoſed, then ſhe commits theſe Things into the *Memory*'s Cuſtody, without referring them to the *Underſtanding* at all, and ſo the Second Branch of this Operation is wholly ſuperſeded. Now this Account informs us, that the Acts of Recollection, repreſenting to the Intellectual Faculty, laying up in the Memory, and drawing out thoſe Stores again for Uſe, are all of them Operations of the Imaginative Faculty. So that That *Common Repoſitory*, the Internal Senſe, (*Reminiſcence*, as it is called) and Fancy, come

7. *The Properties of the ſeveral Faculties.*

within the Compaſs of This, and are not (as ſome pretend) Powers of the Mind, diſtinct and ſeparate from it. And, conſequently, there is nothing in thoſe Operations that ſhould oblige us to quit the former Diviſion, or allow more Faculties of the Reaſonable Soul, than the Three already inſiſted upon.

8. *The Faculties compared together.* The Common People, who (to give them their due) are very ſeldom in the right, have an high Eſteem, and make a marvellous to do with *Memory*, extolling This infinitely above the other Two; The only Reaſon whereof ſeems to be, that this hath more of Shew, is more pretending and forward, and makes a greater Noiſe in Converſation. Hence it is, That a Man whoſe Memory is well ſtored, is uſually reputed a great Scholar; and that to pronounce one a Perſon of good Parts, you look no farther than his having a good Memory; as if *Learning* were to be preferr'd before *Wiſdom*, which indeed comes infinitely ſhort of it; and this Faculty from whence it is furniſh'd, is the leaſt valuable of all the Three; For it is conſiſtent with great Folly, and inſufferable Impertinence; and very rarely to be met with in any great Degree, where the Perſon excels in Underſtanding and Wiſdom; for the Temperaments indeed from whence they reſult, are contrary to one another. From this vulgar Error, I ſuppoſe the improper Methods of Teaching Children, to have taken their Riſe; it being the Cuſtom of Country-Schools almoſt every where, to follow them cloſe with Tasks to be got by Heart, (as they call it) that ſo they may be able to repeat, and quote Things readily out of Books. Thus they ſtuff their Memories full, and load them with the Riches of other Men, without taking any care to awaken and whet the Underſtanding; to form or to refine the Judgment: Which, after all, is the moſt ne-

neceſſary Part of Inſtruction, to ſhew them the true Worth of their Natural Faculties, to draw out the Stores and Abilities of their own Mind, and by the Exerciſe and Improvement of their Home-Growth, to render them conſiderate, and wiſe, and qualify'd for all manner of Buſineſs. Accordingly we ſee, that many of your Scholars, which carry all *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero* in their Heads, are mere *Prigs* and *Puts*, and incapable of any Management at all, and that, (generally ſpeaking) the World is led by the Noſe, and all the weightieſt Affairs of Governments entruſted with Men of little or no Learning. Which yet, no doubt, is of infinite Advantage, and wou'd render even the prudenteſt and cunningeſt Politicians, yet more capable than they are, if wiſely inſtill'd, and well us'd. But then they muſt not (as the Way of the World is) value themſelves upon Other Mens Wiſdom; nor think it their Own, becauſe they remember it; but make it ſo, by digeſting what they read, incorporating it with their own Thoughts, refining and improving upon it, and knowing how to convert it to the Uſe and Benefit of themſelves and others. But to return; All Wiſe Men have given the Preference to the *Underſtanding*; and admit it to be the moſt excellent and choiceſt Piece of Furniture belonging to the Mind. If this moves right, all the reſt goes true, and the Man is wiſe; and if this be falſe, the whole Movement is out of Courſe. *Imagination* is the Second in Dignity; and *Memory* is the Laſt and Loweſt.

9. *An Image of the Three Faculties.*

The following Similitude may perhaps contribute ſomething to our apprehending the true State of theſe Faculties, and the different Circumſtances and Relations they are in, more perfectly. The *Reaſonable Soul* then cannot be more painted to the Life, than by forming an Idea of it to our ſelves, as a Court of Judicature. Now in every ſuch

ſuch *Court* there are *Three Degrees* and Orders of Perſons concern'd: The Uppermoſt and moſt Honourable Order is the *Bench of Judges*; and here there is little or no Noiſe, but a World of Buſineſs and Diſpatch: For They proceed calmly and quietly; and without any Hurry or Paſſion, try Cauſes, decide Controverſies and Claims, make Decrees, and give the Final Determination to all Matters brought before them: This carries a very lively Reſemblance to the *Underſtanding*, which is the higheſt, the moſt honourable, and the judging Faculty of the Soul. The *Second* is the *Bar*, where the Council and the Attorneys are plac'd; and here is a World of Clutter, and Bawling, and Noiſe, but nothing done; for they can bring nothing to an Iſſue; They make no Orders nor Awards, pronounce no Sentences: All Their Buſineſs is only to diſcuſs Matters, to plead the Cauſe, and to lay it before the Judge. This is a lively Picture of the *Imagination*, which is a loud, a bluſtering, and a reſtleſs Faculty; never lies ſtill, not even then, when the Soul ſeems perfectly bound up in the profoundeſt Sleep; but is eternally buzzing about the Brain, like a boyling Pot; and this can never fix, or come to a peremptory Reſolution in any thing. The *Third* and laſt Degree is that of the *Notaries*, and *Regiſters*, and *Clerks*; where there is neither Noiſe nor Action: It is no Part of their Concern which way Things go; they are purely Paſſive; and all they have to do, is to make Entries of what paſſes in Court, and to take care that the Records be faithfully kept, and ready to be produc'd upon occaſion. This gives us no ill Idea of the *Memory* and its Office.

10. *Its Operations.* The *Action* or Employment of the Soul is *Knowledge* or *Underſtanding*; and this is of Univerſal Extent: For the Mind is a Houſe open to every Gueſt;

Gueſt; a Subject ready to receive any Impreſſion. As the Philoſophers ſay the Primitive Matter is diſpoſed to be moulded into any Forms; or as a Looking-Glaſs receives and reflects all Faces; ſo this Soul is capable of conſidering all things indifferently, be they Viſible or Inviſible, Univerſals or Particulars; Objects of Senſe or not, the *Underſtanding* is in at All. But (if we may be allow'd to argue from the vaſt, and almoſt infinite Diverſity of Opinions, and the ſtill growing Doubts upon this Matter) it is acquainted with it ſelf the leaſt of any thing. This Knowledge is but dim and indirect: It is attained by Reflection only, and the Knowledge of other Things brought home, and apply'd to it ſelf: By which it feels, that it does underſtand, and thence infers a Power and Capacity of this kind. This ſeems to be the Method, by which our Minds attain to the Knowledge of Themſelves. Almighty God, who is the Sovereign Mind, knows Himſelf firſt, and all Things elſe in Himſelf: But Man, who is the laſt and loweſt of all the Intellectual World, inverts that Order quite, and diſcerns other Things before he can come to any Knowledge of Himſelf; for his Mind is in Contemplation of other Objects, (like the Eye in a Looking-Glaſs) which cannot work upon it ſelf without the help of a *Medium*, and ſees nothing at Home, while the Viſion is continu'd in a ſtraight Line, but can do it by Reflection only.

But the great Difficulty to be enquir'd into upon this Occaſion, concerns the Manner of Operation, and by what Method the Soul attains to the Knowledge of Things. The moſt receiv'd Opinion is that deriv'd from *Ariſtotle*, importing, That the Mind underſtands and is inſtructed by the Senſes: That it is naturally and of it ſelf, a perfect Blank, a clean white Paper; and that what-

11. *The manner of it.*

whatever is written in it afterwards, muſt be dictated by the Senſes, and cannot be convey'd thither any other way.

But firſt of all, This is far from being Univerſally true; for, (as was hinted before, and the Point referred hither for a farther Diſquiſition) there have been great Authorities of Philoſophers, that the firſt Seeds of all Sciences, and Vertues, and neceſſary Knowledge, are originally ſown in our Minds, and grafted there by Nature; ſo that Men may if they pleaſe, live very comfortably, and grow Rich out of their own Stock; and, provided they take but a little care to cultivate and cheriſh the kindly Beginnings, the Harveſt will not fail to be plentiful, and abundantly to reward their Pains.

Again; That Opinion ſeems highly injurious to God and Nature, and taxes them with unreaſonable Partiality: For upon theſe Terms the Rational Soul is more ſparingly dealt with, and left in a much worſe Condition, than either the Vegetative, or Senſitive, or any other Creature whatſoever: For all Theſe, as hath already been obſerv'd, exerciſe their Functions readily, and are ſufficiently inſtructed by their own Native Endowments, in all Things neceſſary for their Purpoſe. Thus Beaſts apprehend ſeveral Things without Experience, and the Diſcipline of Senſe: They make Inferences, ſo far as their Caſe requires, and conclude Univerſals from Particulars: From the ſight of one Man they know the Humane Shape whereſoever they ſee it again; they are forewarn'd to avoid Dangers, even while inviſible; and to follow after That which is agreeable and beneficial to Themſelves, and their Young: And wou'd it not be a Reproach, or ſcandalous Blunder and Abſurdity in Nature, if this Noble, this Divine Faculty, ſhou'd have no Proviſion at all of its own,

See Adv. upon Chap. XXIV.

but

but ſent about a begging, and depend for mere Neceſſaries upon ſo mean, ſo frail Relief, as what the Senſes are able to give?

Once more; How can we perceive that the *Underſtanding* ſhou'd go to School to the *Senſes*, and be taught by Them, who are not able to teach themſelves? What precious Maſters are theſe, whoſe utmoſt Knowledge goes no deeper than barely the Accidents and Outſides of Things? For, as to the Natures, Forms, and real Eſſences of them, they know nothing at all of the Matter. And if This be the Caſe of *Individual* Subſtances, much leſs are they capable of penetrating into *Univerſals*, the dark and profound Myſteries of Nature, and all thoſe things which do not affect the Senſe at all.

Beſides; If all *Knowledge* were deriv'd from the *Senſes*, the Conſequence of this (one would think) ſhou'd be, That They, whoſe Senſes are the quickeſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt diſcerning, wou'd always be the Perſons moſt conſpicuous for Ingenuity, and Learning, and Skill in Reaſoning. But we frequently ſee it happen juſt contrary; that ſuch People are the dulleſt, moſt ſtupid, and moſt incapable of all others. Nay, ſome Perſons have thought their Bodily Senſes rather an Obſtruction than any Advantage to their Improvement: And upon that Account have wilfully depriv'd themſelves of them, that ſo the Soul might be more expedite and free, and do her Buſineſs without Diſtraction, when the Avocations and Diſturbance of Senſible Objects were taken out of the way.

Now if this Matter be as I have repreſented it; you will ask perhaps, Why theſe Things are not always perform'd by the Soul, and why not by every Man alike? What hinders that all ſhould not be equally Wiſe and Knowing; but eſpecially, why it ſhou'd lie dormant, without being reduc'd into act; or, if it do act, how comes

it

it to paſs that its Operations are not always equal, that it goes about its Duty feebly, and performs its Functions much more lamely and imperfectly at one Seaſon than at another? This is the Caſe even of the Wiſeſt and moſt Capable Perſons; and ſome are ſo miſerably ſtupid, that the *Intellectual Soul* ſeems never to exert it ſelf at all. Where it does, the *Vegetative Soul* is vigorous and active in Youth, and very weak in Old Age: It is then decay'd, and ſpent, and cannot repair the Loſſes of Nature, (thoſe of Teeth eſpecially.) Which yet it does with the greateſt Eaſe imaginable, in Children and young People. The *Reaſonable Soul*, quite contrary, is evidently weaker in Infancy and Youth, and cannot exert it ſelf then, as it does afterwards in riper Years, and old Age: This alſo performs ſome ſort of Actions in ſome ſorts of Diſtempers, which it hath not power to do in time of perfect Health: and others again there are perform'd in time of Health, which it is utterly incapacitated for, when the Body labours under a Diſtemper.

Now all theſe Objections are inſufficient: For, Firſt of all, They who hold the Opinion I am now contending for, never pretend, that the Faculty and *Power of Underſtanding is communicated to every Man in equal Proportions.* They admit a very great Inequality; from whence that Ancient and Noble Aphoriſm became ſo uſual in the Mouth of Philoſophers, That *the acting Intellect is given to very few*; and this very Inequality they make uſe of, as an Argument to prove that *Science* does not proceed from *Senſe*; ſince it is very manifeſt, according to what hath been urged already, that They who are moſt advantageouſly provided for in point of Senſe, are oftentimes leaſt ſo in point of Learning and Wiſdom.

As

As to the Second Part of the Objection, That theſe Functions are not always perform'd alike; The true Reaſon of this is certainly, The different Condition of thoſe Inſtruments, which the Soul hath abſolute occaſion for, and conſtantly works by; for Theſe neither are, nor can be at all times in the ſame Order and Diſpoſition. Sometimes they are diſturbed ſo as to be fit for no Buſineſs at all: And when they are not put out of their Courſe, by any accidental Interruption, yet, even in their Natural State, they are not qualify'd for all Buſineſs alike; nay, they act in perfect Contrariety, and croſs, and interfere with one another. To expreſs this now in as few Words, and as clearly as the Thing will bear:

That *Temperament of the Brain*, which you have heard ſo much of already, is the next and immediate Inſtrument, by which the Soul is aſſiſted and determin'd in her Actings. Now This is exceeding various and mutable; and at thoſe Seaſons when it ſerves well for one Function of the Soul, it obſtructs and runs counter to another. In *Youth* it is *Hot* and *Moiſt*; and this Complication is extremely proper for ſtrengthening the Vegetative Faculty; but it keeps the Rational one Weak and Low. On the other hand it is *Cold* and *Dry* in *Aged People*; and This is a convenient Temper for the Reaſonable Soul, but highly prejudicial, and improper for the Vegetative. When this Temperament of the Brain is ſoundly heated and refin'd by a high Fever, it is then accommodated to the Imaginative Faculty, and does Wonders in Invention and Fancy; but this very Condition diſables the Intellectual Faculty, and is the moſt oppoſite that can be, to *Mature Deliberation*, and ſound Wiſdom and Judgment.

It is no part of my Intention, by all this Diſcourſe, to defraud the *Senſes* of any part of the Com-

Commendation, which is their juſt due; but only to prevent their ingroſſing All, and aſſuming more than their due. 'Tis confeſs'd, that the *Mind* reaps great Advantage, and is very conveniently ſerved by the *Senſes*; eſpecially in the beginning of its Contemplations, the firſt Hints and Occaſions, the Invention and new Diſcoveries of Things. But ſtill we affirm, in vindication of the Mind's juſt Rights, that it does not depend upon the Senſes entirely; that it is capable of Knowledge and Underſtanding; can reaſon and diſcuſs Matters, infer and conclude, without the Senſes: Whereas, on the contrary, all Knowledge proceeds from the Mind; and the Senſes, when left to themſelves, cannot make the leaſt Progreſs, nor have one ſingle Perception without it.

12. It is farther obſervable, that the *Mind* proceeds in different Methods, and makes regular and gradual Advances in the Conſideration of Things. Sometimes it proceeds by the Addition and Conjunction of Idea's: As firſt it conceives a *Lion* ſimply and directly, without attending to any of his Qualities: Then it adds the Idea of *Strength* to the former; and ſo having from ſome Effects had reaſon to believe that theſe will agree well together, and be true of each other, it concludes, that the *Lion* is *Strong*. This is what they call the *Affirmative* way of Arguing. Sometimes it proceeds by the Diviſion of Idea's, which is what they term the *Negative* way. Thus it underſtands the *Hare* to be *Fearful*; for obſerving her to run away and hide her ſelf, it concludes from this Timorous Behaviour, that a *Hare* is not *Stout*. Sometimes again we come to the Knowledge of Things by Similitude, and the help of Compariſon; and of Others by a Collection of ſeveral Idea's, Exaggerating and Amplifying theſe as we ſee fit. Other Methods there are, which need not be inſtanced

ſtanced in particularly, becauſe any Man, from his own Obſervation, and what hath been already deliver'd here, may eaſily repreſent the manner of them to himſelf.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Parts of the Humane Soul: And firſt, of the Underſtanding, which is its nobleſt Function; Imagination, Reaſon, Wit, Judgment, &c.

THIS *Mind* of *Man* is a dark and deep Abyſs, an intricate Labyrinth, full of Corners and Creeks, and ſecret lurking Places: Such is the Diſpoſition and State of this exalted Part of the Soul, diſtinguiſh'd by the Term of *Intellectual*, which conſiſts of vaſtly many Parts, and Faculties, and Operations, and different Movements; each of which have their proper Names, and each of them infinite Doubts and Difficulties peculiar to them.

The Firſt Part of its Office is commonly known by the Name of *Apprehenſion* or *Imagination*; and this conſiſts in barely receiving and apprehending Images and ſimple Ideas; which is, indeed, in the Nature of a Paſſion and Impreſſion, occaſion'd by the Preſence of Things that ſtrike upon, or are repreſented to it. 1.

The next is that Power by which we feed upon thoſe Ideas, to which the Imagination hath given ſuch Entertainment; we handle and turn them about, chew the Cud, concoct and digeſt them; and this is *Reaſon*, or λόγος. 2.

3. The Third Action or Office, is what we commonly term *Diſcourſe* or *Ratiocination* (λογισμὸς, διάνοια, becauſe διὰ νοῦν) And the Exerciſe of this Power conſiſts in collecting or ſeparating; joyning together, or taking aſunder the Ideas thus received; and, according as thoſe are found to agree or diſagree, adding ſome freſh to them, which is the Nature of Inferences and Concluſions.

4. The Doing all this with Eaſe, Nicety, and Readineſs, ſearching deeper, and ſeeing farther into Matters than the World commonly do, is an Excellence known by the Name of *Penetration*, or Sagacity; *(Ingenium)* and the Perſons happy in it, are diſtinguiſh'd by the Titles of *Ingenious*, ſhrewd, ſharp Men, Perſons of good Parts, good Senſe, and the like.

5. The bringing Things over again, allowing them a Second Thought, and applying the Touch-ſtone to them over and over, that our Diſquiſition may be as curious and elaborate as poſſible, and nothing may paſs, but what we are well aſſur'd is true Standard; this is *Judgment*; and its Buſineſs is to go upon ſure Grounds, and come to no Reſolutions, but ſuch as one may abide by.

6. The Effect, Laſtly, of the *Underſtanding*, thus exerciſed is, as you perceive, *Knowledge*, Speculative Wiſdom, and Reſolution.

7. The Action, which follows next, and is a Natural Conſequence of ſuch Knowledge and Reſolution, is that of the *Will*, or *Volition*; by which the Mind reaches forward, and makes ſome Advances, towards the Object ſo known.

8. Now from hence, I think, it follows, that the *Eſſence* of all theſe Things is the ſame; and the Operations of them only are different. That is, *Underſtanding*, and Imagination, and Reaſon, and Diſcourſe, and Penetration, and Judgment, and Wiſdom, and Reſolution, are only ſo many ſeveral

veral Methods, by which the ſame Mind moves and exerts it ſelf. And accordingly we find ſome Perſons better diſpoſed to one of theſe Ways, than they are to others; a Man, for Inſtance, ſhall be excellent for Quickneſs and *Readineſs of Wit*, and yet very weak and childiſh with reſpect to his *Judgment*. Every Man hath all theſe Powers inherent in his Mind; but every Man hath them not alike, nor is alike qualify'd for the Exciſe of them all.

I am well enough content to hear the Characters and lofty Commendations of the Soul of Man; and take great Delight in the Account of its Comprehenſion, and Sprightlineſs, and vaſt Abilities. I allow it be called the *Image of the Living God*; a *Drop of the Fountain of Immortality*, an *Efflux of the Divinity*, a *Beam of Heavenly Light*; That the Great Creator hath furniſhed it with Reaſon, by which, as by a living Rudder, this Veſſel may ſteer its Courſe regularly; That it is an Inſtrument moſt exquiſitely Harmonious; That by it we contract a great Reſemblance, and have the Honour of being near of Kin to God; and that therefore he hath ſo diſpoſed the Seat and Situation of this Mind, that it ſhould be in a perpetual Diſpoſition of looking upward, to the Place of its Birth. In a Word, I agree, that there is nothing in this lower World truly Great, but only *Man*; and nothing truly Noble in Man but his *Mind*; that if you come up to the utmoſt Height of this, you have climb'd higher than the very Heavens themſelves: Theſe Characters I conſent to very heartily, and they are ſuch as the Schools, and Chairs of Philoſophers and Divines, have commonly abounded in; with a Deſign to render Men duly ſenſible of the Dignity of their Nature, and to teach them not debaſe or undervalue themſelves.

2. *Deſcription of the Mind. Its Advantage.*

2. *Its Diſadvantages.* All This, I ſay, is admitted; but ſtill with this Proviſo, that Men wou'd apply themſelves withal, to examine, and come to a more diſtinct Knowledge of This *Soul* of ours. For upon a more intimate Acquaintance, we ſhall find, that it is capable of being made, and (as the Matter is commonly order'd) does actually prove an Inſtrument of much Danger and Miſchief to ones ſelf and others; a terrible Diſturber of the Publick Peace; which, like a common Jugler, with his Legerdemain, amuſes you with Slight of Hand; and waits all Opportunities of putting the Cheat upon you. For in Truth, all the Falſehood, and Forgery, and Miſchief, that the World labours under, are owing purely to This, and have no other Original.

3. *Different ſorts of Souls.* The *Bodies* of Men, as infinitely various as we ſee them, are yet leſs different from one another than their Souls are: In general, They may properly enough be reduc'd into Three Claſſes; each of which is capable of being ſub-divided again, and hath ſeveral Diſtinctions and Degrees comprehended under it. The *Loweſt* of theſe are poor and *weak Souls*, not much removed from that of Brutes. And this Defect may be cauſed ſometimes from the Faults and Imperfections of the Natural Conſtitution; too great a Predominance of Cold and Moiſture in the Temperament of the Brain; as Fiſhes, whoſe Compoſition is of this kind, are reckon'd the loweſt and moſt wanting of all other Animals: This Infirmity is born with us, and deriv'd from our Parents. Sometimes it is chargeable upon accidental Failings afterwards: Want of due Care to awaken and exert the Natural Powers, and letting them ruſt upon our Hands, till they degenerate into Senſeleſneſs and Stupidity; Of theſe we can make no certain Account, nor can they be eſteemed a certain Species; For in Truth, they are not in a Condition to govern

vern themſelves as Men, but are Minors and Ignorants all their Days, and ought to be conſtantly kept under the Tuition and Care of others, wiſer than themſelves. * They ſnore and nod with their Eyes open; and, while they ſeem to live and act, are dead in the very midſt of Life; Moving Carcaſſes, and Men that walk in their Sleep. Such are the *Boors* and Common People, without Senſe, without Apprehenſion, without Judgment. The *Uppermoſt* Claſs are thoſe Elevated, and ſingularly Excellent Souls, that ſeem rather to be Angels and Demi-Gods than Common and Mortal Men; Strong and Vigorous, and every way Accompliſh'd; Theſe are conſpicuous and admirable indeed, but ſo rare and few withal, that if we could bring all of them together that ever the World knew, this long and numerous Succeſſion could not furniſh enough to compoſe one Common-wealth. The *Middle Sort* is infinite in Partitions and Degrees, Men of moderate Endowments, refin'd from the Dregs, but ſtill beneath the Cream and Flower of Humane Nature. And Theſe take in much the greateſt Part of Mankind. Of thoſe Diſtinctions, there will come a more proper Time to treat more largely hereafter. In the mean while, we muſt try to give a more particular Deſcription of this *Soul*, with regard to its Nature and Qualities, which yet are ſo intricate and manifold, that it is as hard to repreſent them truly, as it would be to draw a Picture like, from a Face that is always in Motion.

5. *Its Deſcription. A perpetual Agent.*

Firſt of all; We may obſerve, that it is perpetually in Action. The *Soul* indeed *cannot live idle*, for to be doing ſomething is its very Eſſence; and hence it is, that for fear of lying quite unactive, it employs it ſelf in falſe and fantaſtical Imagina-

* Qui vigilans ſtertit.
Mortua cui vita eſt prope jam vivo atque videnti.

tions, forms a Thouſand wild Ideas, will ſtudy to cheat and deceive it ſelf, and go directly contrary to its own Knowledge and Perſuaſion, rather than be out of Buſineſs. Like Fallow and neglected Grounds, which muſt always be kept ſown with ſome Grain or other, if the Soil be rich and fruitful; otherwiſe they will provide themſelves a Harveſt, and put forth vaſt Crops of wild and noxious Weeds. Thus the *Mind*, if it be not ſet on Work, and kept cloſe to ſome particular Subject, turns Vagabond, wanders and floats among a Thouſand Whimſies; there is nothing ſo Fooliſh, or ſo Extravagant, but it will produce it. And if it be not fix'd down, it is loſt; for to be every where, is in Truth to be no where. *Agitation* is, indeed, the very Life and Beauty of the Soul, but then this Agitation ought to be directed and preſcribed; found for it by another Hand, but by no means left to its own providing. Suffer it to go all alone, and on its own Head, it ſanters about and tires its ſelf to no purpoſe; languiſhes and grows feeble. And yet the other Extreme is every whit as dangerous; for if you hold it too high, and lay too much upon it. This is keeping the Bow always bent. Conſtant intenſe Thought, is what cannot be born; it ſtrains and puts the Mind upon the Stretch, till at laſt it cracks and breaks it.

An Univerſal Agent.

6. This *Agent* is alſo *Univerſal*, and in at every Thing. No Subject whatſoever, no Topick is out of its Compaſs; let the Farce be what it will, the Soul will have a Part in it, tho' it be never ſo low or ſo extravagant. The vaineſt and moſt trifling Matter will ſerve its Turn to work upon, as well as that of the greateſt Conſequence and Weight; Things which it knows not, nor hath any Comprehenſion of, as well as thoſe, with which it is never ſo well acquainted. For even the being made ſenſible, that it is out of a Man's Power to enter deep-

deep, and ſearch Things to the Bottom, and that in many (in moſt Caſes indeed) all the Knowledge we can have is merely ſuperficial, and goes no farther than juſt the Shell, and Out-ſide of Things; The very Coming to this Senſe, I ſay, is a very brave and bold Stroke, and argues a Maſterly Judgment. *Learning*, nay, *Truth* it ſelf, may be found in a Man that wants *Judgment*, and many may have a good Judgment too, who are unskill'd in Learning and Books, and under ſome Miſtakes, as to particular Opinions. But for a Man to ſee, and to acknowledge his own Ignorance and Perſonal Defects; to pretend to no more than he really hath, and is; this ſingle Quality argues ſo much Judgment, that there are few better Teſtimonies to be given of it.

7. *Ready and quick in its Motions.*

A Third Character very conſiderable in this Agent, is the *Nimbleneſs* of its *Motions*; whereby it traverſes the whole World, and runs from the one End of it to the other, in a Moment of Time; never ſtanding ſtill, never at reſt; but fluttering about, and peeping and medling every where. * *Man is endu'd with a buſy, active, Mind; that never keeps at home; but expands and dilates it ſelf; wanders every where, cannot bear any Reſt, and is never ſo agreeably entertain'd as with Novelties, and freſh Objects. Nor is it ſtrange; For this Mind of ours is deſcended from that Cæleſtial Spirit above; and Motion, we know, is ſo natural there, that the Heavenly Beings, are never out of it.* This mighty Quickneſs and Agility muſt be confeſs'd in one reſpect prodigious, and one of the moſt miraculous Qualifications belonging to the Soul. But on the o-

* Mobilis & inquieta mens homini data eſt; nunquam ſe tenet; Spargitur vaga, quietis impatiens, novitate rerum lætiſſima; Non mirum ex illo cœleſti ſpiritu deſcendit. Cœleſtium autem natura ſemper in motu eſt.

ther hand, it is very dangerous too; for Spirits ſo exceeding ſubtle and refin'd, are liable to great Inconveniences; and an Excellence of this kind is obſerved to be a mighty Diſpoſition to Folly, and borders hard upon *Madneſs*, as you will hear by and by.

Upon the Conſideration of theſe Three Qualities it is that the Arguments for the *Immortality of the Soul* are uſually grounded. Since *Matter* (which is corruptible by Nature) hath none of theſe; and what is not Material, no Reaſon in Philoſophy can evince to be Mortal. Now an Agent in *perpetual Motion* is very diſtant from Matter, to which *Reſt* ſeems natural, ſince it neither does, nor ever can move it ſelf. An unlimited and univerſal Agent differs extremely from Matter, which is cramp'd and confin'd in all its Operations, and proper only for One, or a Few; but always the ſame Matter can ſerve only ſome and the ſame determinate Uſes: And That again which is ſudden and inſtantaneous, which is bounded by no Time, no Place, but carries its Thoughts to the moſt diſtant Objects with equal Swiftneſs as to thoſe that are neareſt: This ſure is moſt contrary to *Matter*, whoſe Motions are local and gradual, bound up by neceſſary Laws, and proportion'd by the reſpective Diſtances of the ſeveral Objects. Conſequently This *Mind* is ſomething above *Matter* and *Mortality*, a *Spark* of *Divine Fire*, and the expreſs Image of that Active and Omnipreſent Spirit, which we call *GOD*.

8. *Its Employment.* Now the Trade and conſtant Employment of this Soul, is to be perpetually upon the Seek, ferretting, and doubling, and hot in the Purſuit of Knowledge, as of its proper Food. This *Appetite* and Hunger for the *Truth*, makes Men eternally prying, and curious, and inquiſitive; which made the *Greek* Poets call Men ἀλφηστας, a ſort of Creature

ture, whoſe Thoughts and Inventions are always at work. Nor is there any End of our Enquiries; for they are circumſcrib'd within no Bounds, nor regulated by any Forms and Meaſures. Doubts and Difficulties are the Suſtenance we live upon; and the Principle within us is a *perpetual Motion*. The whole World is our School, and our Theme, and, which is particular to the Caſe now before us, *We labour for Labour's ſake*; The Chaſe and Purſuit is not ſo much our Toil, or our Diverſion, as it is our Game and our Prey: For the ſucceeding, or not ſucceeding in our Diſquiſition, is a Thing of another and very different Conſideration.

9. *Its manner of working.*

But ſtill, in the midſt of all this buſy Curioſity, it is raſh, tumultuous, and diſorderly, obſerves no certain Rules and Meaſures, but is eternally roving, and variable, and inconſiſtent with it ſelf: 'Tis a perfect Noſe of Wax, that bends every way, ſtretches it ſelf to any length, is accommodated to all Forms, more ſubtle and yielding than Water or Air. * Thus juſtifying the Character given of it, that as a Spirit is more refin'd and ſubtle, ſo it is likewiſe more flexible and yielding than any the thinneſt Matter whatſoever. Of this *Theramenes*'s Shooe was the true Emblem, which fitted Feet of all Sizes. All it is at a loſs for is, only for ſome Contrivance how to turn and change with ſome Appearance of Probability; for when This is once found, it moves every way, takes all ſides, croſſes and contradicts it ſelf, and argues for Truth or Falſhood indifferently.

10.

Thus *Reaſon* ſports wantonly, and invents or entertains Arguments for the wideſt and moſt di-

* Flexibili omni humore obſequentior, & ut Spiritus, qui omni Materiâ facilior, ut tenuior.

ſtant

ſtant Contrarieties. Nothing ſo extravagant, nothing ſo abſurd, but hath found its Aſſertors and Abettors: And this not only in the fanciful Conceits of private Perſons, but in the more general Senſe and Agreement of large Societies and Communities. Thus *Hiſtory* tells us, that what is deteſted as Impious, Unjuſt, and Unnatural in one Country, has been receiv'd with Veneration, and practis'd as highly Decent, and a Duty, nay, even eſteem'd an Act of Religion in another. And there are not many Laws, or Cuſtoms, or Opinions, which we can ſay, have univerſally obtain'd, or have been every where rejected. The *Marriages of near Relations* Some condemn as Inceſtuous; but Others have not only allow'd, but recommended, nay, in ſome Caſes even enjoyn'd them. The *Murdering of Infants*, and *of Parents, when old and decrepid*, and the *having Wives in common*, are now, and in our Parts of the World, look'd upon as barbarous and execrable; but the Worſhippers of *Moloch*, we know, thought their Children the moſt acceptable Sacrifice; and if *Herodotus*, and ſome other Hiſtorians, ſay true, the *Scythians* thought the other not only innocent, but a Mark of Tenderneſs and Reſpect; and never pretended to any Propriety in a Marriage-Bed. When *Dionyſius* offer'd *Plato* a rich Embroider'd Robe, he refus'd it, with this Reaſon for his Denial, That it was not fit for a Man to be ſo effeminately clothed; And yet *Ariſtippus*, another Philoſopher, accepted it; and he had his Reaſon for That too, which was, That no External Habit cou'd corrupt the Mind; and that the Soul might ſtill be Maſculine and Chaſte, tho' the Body were attir'd in Clothes never ſo Soft and Effeminate. The *Dialogue* between this laſt Philoſopher and *Diogenes*, each vindicating his own manner of Living, and reflecting upon the other's that

that differ'd from him, is thus repreſented by *Horace* *,

Diog. *If* Ariſtippus *patiently cou'd dine*
On Herbs, he wou'd the Courts of Kings decline.
Ariſt. *If he that cenſures me, knew how to uſe*
The Courts of Kings, he wou'd his Herbs refuſe.

Creech, *Epiſt.* XVII.

When *Solon* was Mourning, and full of Lamentation for the death of his Son, a Friend adviſed him to moderate his Paſſion, ſince Tears upon that Occaſion are unprofitable, and to no purpoſe; That very Conſideration, ſays *Solon*, excuſes my Exceſs of Grief; for what can juſtifie a Man's Concern, what can provoke Tears ſo much as the Thought that all our Sorrow is Fruitleſs and Vain? *Socrates* his Wife pretended this Aggravation of her Grief, that the Judges had condemn'd him unjuſtly: Nay, ſure, (reply'd he) if a Man muſt ſuffer, it is infinitely more eligible to die Innocent, than to deſerve Condemnation. One Philoſopher tells you, That a Man is truly poſſeſt of nothing which he is not prepared to loſe. † *For the Fear that a thing may be loſt, is a Paſſion every whit as tormenting as the Concern for it when actually loſt.* Another, who paſſes for as wiſe a Man as He, comes and tells you quite contrary; That the Uncertainty of what we have, and the Apprehenſion of its being taken away from us, heightens and gives a Reliſh to our Enjoyments, by diſpoſing us to hold the Bleſſings faſter and cloſer to our Hearts, and rendring us more affectionate and tender of them. A Cynick beg-

* Si pranderet olus patienter, Regibus uti
Nollet Ariſtippus. Si ſciret Regibus uti,
Faſtidiret olus, qui me notat ——

† In æquo enim eſt Dolor amiſſæ rei, & Timor amittendæ-

ged

ged of *Antigonus*, that he wou'd beſtow a *Drachm* of Silver upon him; No, ſays the King, ſo ſmall a Thing is not a Preſent fit for a Prince to give: Then, Sir, be pleaſed to give me a *Talent*: Nor that neither, ſays *Antigonus*; For a Talent is a Summ as much too great for a Philoſopher to receive. A certain Perſon was extolling a King of *Sparta* for his exceeding great *Goodneſs* and *Clemency*; and the Inſtance he gave of it, was, That he was kind even to the Wicked and Unworthy: And this argu'd a great Degree of Goodneſs in him. So far from that, ſays another, that according to this Account he is no good Man, for no Prince can be ſo, who is not ſevere to the Wicked. Thus you may obſerve, how many different Faces *Reaſon* puts on, and what a *Two-edg'd Sword* it is, which with dextrous Management will cut both ways. * *Every Medal hath its Reverſe*, ſays the Proverb. There is nothing ſaid, but hath ſomewhat to be ſaid againſt it, ſays the ſoundeſt Philoſophy; and a Man might demonſtrate the Truth of it upon any Subject in the World.

11. Now this great Variety and Flexibility may be imputed to ſeveral Cauſes: It may come from that perpetual Flux of Humours, and variable Conſtitution of the Body, which is ſo great, ſo conſtant, that a Man is never exactly the ſame in this reſpect at any two times of his whole Life. It may be charg'd upon that infinite Variety of Objects that offer themſelves to his Contemplation; It may proceed from the Temper of the Air, the Difference of Weather, of Climates and Seaſons; for, as was obſerv'd before,

* Ogni Medaglia ha il ſuo riverſo.

† *In*

† *In each Man's Breaſt that Weathercock, the Mind,*
Moves with the Rack, and ſhifts with every Wind.

And a Thouſand other external Cauſes may contribute to it. But if we come nearer home, and look within, much may be laid upon the ſeveral ſorts of Motion, which the Mind is put into, both by its own natural and conſtant Agitation, and by the different Impreſſions, which the Paſſions make upon it. Much alſo may be argu'd from the different Manner of the Object's being repreſented to it, according to the different Proſpects taken of them: For in this reſpect it happens to the *Eye* of the *Mind*, as it does to that of the *Body*, that no two Perſons ſee the ſame thing exactly, and in all reſpects alike. Their Situation, their Organs, and infinite other little unobſerv'd Accidents there are, that make ſome, though perhaps not ſo great a Diverſity as to be diſcern'd in the Act of Viſion. Beſides, every thing we know hath different Gloſſes and Faces, and is capable of being conſider'd under different reſpects; which was *Epictetus*'s meaning, when he ſaid, *That every thing hath two* (he might very truly have ſaid a great many) *Handles.* "But after all, nothing "adds more to this Ambiguity, and variety of "Opinions, than that *Spirit* of *Contradiction* and "*Diſpute*, and a vain Affectation of *Wit*, generally predominant in the World, which lets no"thing paſs quietly in Converſation; and accounts "it a Reflexion upon one's Parts, not to have "ſomewhat to ſay by way of Repartee and Ob"jection, though never ſo contrary to Truth, and "ſometimes even to the Perſons own Judgment

† Tales ſunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipſe
Jupiter auctiferâ luſtravit lampade terras.

"too

" too. And hence it is frequent for ſuch People
" to take contrary Sides; for their Buſineſs is not
" ſo much to advance an Opinion, or to urge
" what is really Argument and good Senſe, as
" to ſhew their Talent in oppoſing what any Bo-
" dy elſe ſhall ſay.

12. From hence it comes to paſs, that the Mind obſtructs it ſelf in its Buſineſs, like Silk-worms that are intangled in Webs of their own ſpinning: For while it reaches forward, and expects to attain ſome diſtant Truth, and is led on in this Hope by I know not what imaginary Probabilities; in the midſt of his Courſe, up ſtart ſome freſh Difficulties, and theſe multiply and croſs the way upon the Man, and ſo by putting him upon a new Scent, carry him off from his firſt Deſign, till he is quite intoxicated, and bewildred in the Maze of his own Thoughts.

13. *Truth, its End, but not attainable.* The End of all this anxious Purſuit is two-fold; That which is more general, and more natural indeed, is *Truth*: For of all the Deſires that we feel our ſelves moved with, there is not any of them more cloſely interwoven with our Nature, than the Deſire of *Truth*: It is with great Eagerneſs and Diligence that we try all the Means capable of leading us to the Knowledge of it; but alas! our utmoſt Attempts are ſhort and inſufficient; for Abſolute Certainty is not a Prize allotted to us; nor does it condeſcend to be taken, and poſſeſſed by any the moſt aſſiduous Humane Soul. *Truth lodges in the Boſom of God*; there is its Retreat and proper Apartment; Men underſtand not any thing in its utmoſt Perfection; *We know in part*, and *here we ſee through a Glaſs darkly*, ſays the Fountain of all Truth. We turn and tumble Objects about, and grope like Men in the Dark for probable Reaſons; but theſe are to be found every where; and *Falſhood* as well as *Truth* hath ſomewhat

what to be alledg'd in its behalf. We are born indeed to ſearch and ſeek for *Truth*, but the Enjoyment of it ſeems to be a Bleſſing reſerv'd for ſome greater and more exalted Powers than any that Mortals are endu'd with. "That is the Happ-
"neſs of Beings above us at preſent, and is re-
"ſerv'd for Mankind in a future State, till he be
"purify'd from the Droſs of Matter, and Fleſh,
"and Infirmity; and the Clouds that now hang
"before us, and dim our Sight, be ſcatter'd by
"clear and everlaſting Day. At preſent the Difference between one Man and another, is not who reaches the Goal, and gains the Prize, and who not; but who is diſtanced, and who not; who runs beſt, and makes the neareſt Approaches to that which none of us All can come up to. If at any time it happens that a Man in the ſtudy of Nature fixes upon Truth, This is more by a lucky Hit than otherwiſe; and his good Fortune is to be extoll'd as much as his Induſtry; and when he hath it, 'tis odds if he can keep it; for many times a Man ſuffers it to be wreſted out of his Hands again by Sophiſms, and Deluſions, and contrary Appearances, for want of being Maſter of his Point, and able to diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, and Reality from the Counterfeit. Errours are entertain'd by the ſame way that Truth is; the Paſſage by which both enter our Souls, is one and the ſame; the Methods made uſe of for diſcovering it, are *Reaſon* and *Experience:* And both Theſe are extremely weak and defective, floating and uncertain, hard to fix, and changeable upon every ſlight Occaſion, when we think they are fixed. The great Argument of Truth is that of *Univerſal Conſent.* But what will all this amount to, when a Man hath conſider'd, what a vaſt Majority of Fools there are, and how very few wiſe Men in the World? And again,

To

To any one that obſerves how Opinions ſpread, and become general: Men take them from one another, as they do *Diſeaſes*, by *Infection*: And *Applauſe* is that Breath that corrupts the Air, and bears about the Venom: This Applauſe again is given commonly blindly and inconſiderately, by them who never examine into the true Merits of the Cauſe; and by them too, who if they do pretend to examine, are not capable of judging in the Caſe. And thus, when ſome few have begun the Dance, the reſt have nothing to do but to fall in with the Tune, and follow them that lead it up of Courſe.

14. *Invention.* The other End aim'd at by the Mind, is *Invention*; which if it have leſs of Nature, yet hath more of Ambition and bold Pretenſion in it: This is aſpir'd to, as its higheſt Point of Honour, that which makes moſt Shew to the World, and contributes moſt to its Reputation; That which it looks big with, and thinks the livelieſt Image of the Divine Nature: It is this particular Accompliſhment, to which all thoſe noble Works have owed their Original, which have fill'd the World with Tranſport and Wonder. And thoſe that have been of Publick Uſe among them, have even Deify'd their Authors, and Immortaliz'd their Names. What Renown have ſome gain'd, that were mere Curioſities, only for being eminent in their Kind, though no Benefit at all accrued to Mankind by their means? Such as *Zeuxis*'s Vine, *Apelles*'s *Venus*, *Memnon*'s Statue; the *Coloſſe* at *Rhodes*, *Archytas*'s Wooden Pigeon, the Sphere of *Sapores* King of *Perſia*, and infinite others. Now the Excellence of Art and Invention ſeems to conſiſt not only in a good Imitation of Nature, but in outdoing it. This often happens in particular Inſtances; for no Man nor Beaſt ſeems ever to have been ſo exquiſitely formed

formed in all its Parts, nor the Proportions of any one and the same Body, to have met together of Nature's Composition, so exact as these Artists have delineated and represented them in Their Pieces. There are likewise several *Improvements* and Exaltations of *Nature*, in producing and compounding those Things by *Art*, which Nature alone never produces. This is plain from the Mixtures of Simples and Indgredients, which is the proper Business for Art to exercise it self in; the Extraction of Spirits and Oyls, and Distillation of Waters, and compounding of Medicines more refin'd, more powerful and efficacious, than any Nature furnishes us with. And yet after all, These Things are not so wonderful, nor do they commend Humane Wisdom and Industry so highly, as the Generality of the World are apt to imagine: For, if we will pass that Judgment in this Matter, which is agreeable to Truth and Duty, and pay a just Deference and Acknowledgement to the First Author; These are but *Imitations*, and not properly *Inventions*; They are Improvements, but they only promote and perfect what God hath first revealed. And what we commonly value and extol as our own Original Contrivance, is nothing more than observing the Works of Nature, arguing and concluding from what we find there, and then reducing those Observations into Practice. Thus *Painting* and *Opticks* were first rude and imperfect Hints, taken from Shades; and the Perfection they are now in, consists only in a due, and proper, and beautiful Mixture of Colours, which makes those Shades. The *Art of Dialling* comes from the Shadows cast by Trees; and what they do in our Fields, we do upon our Planes; They are Nature's Measure of the Sun's Motion, and the Gnomon is Ours. *Sculpture*, and Engraving of Seals, and Characters, and

Cyphers, ſeems to be derived from the particular Marks, and Figures, and Emboſſings found in Precious Stones. And if This be allowed, the reſult of all our Boaſts is very poor; for it all terminates here, That Man (in Truth, and ſtrictly ſpeaking) hath invented nothing, but God and Nature give the Hints and firſt Draughts of all, and We improve, and, by degrees, refine upon them.

15. *The Dangers it expoſes us to.* If all that went before be true, we eaſily perceive to what Raſhneſs and Error the Mind of Man is ſubject, and how great the Dangers are which it expoſes every one of us to; but thoſe Men above all the reſt, in whom it is more ſprightly and vigorous than ordinary: For, ſince the Nature of it is perpetual Agitation, ſince its Motions are ſo free and unconſtrain'd, and ſince all kind of Objects fall within its Contemplation; ſince it refuſes to be bound up, or directed by any certain Forms and Meaſures; and upon all Occaſions is ſo bold in the Uſe of its Native Liberty, without ſubmitting to be captivated and controuled by any thing: The common and natural Effect of this is, to ſhake and diſſettle Opinions generally receiv'd, and already eſtabliſh'd, and to complain of all thoſe Rules by which Men endeavour to regulate and reſtrain it, and check thoſe Extravagances which ſome Men call *Free-Thinking*, as an unjuſt Tyranny and Uſurpation upon Nature, and a Yoke which every Man hath a right to break. Hence it pretends a Privilege of taking nothing for granted, but aſſumes a Power of examining every thing; and pronounces the greateſt part of thoſe *Notions* which are entertain'd and approv'd by the Generality of the World, to be no better than *Vulgar Errors*, ridiculous and abſurd Prepoſſeſſions. It finds ſome appearance

pearance of Reaſon on every ſide; and becauſe nothing above a bare Probability is to be found, it believes nothing certain. Some Notions may have more, and ſome leſs; but all have ſome Allegations in their Favour: And by indulging theſe ſorts of Ambiguities, it is to be fear'd, that at laſt Men are loſt in a Labyrinth, give all up, and ſit down in *Doubt*, and *Scepticiſm*. That thus it often hath happen'd is too manifeſt; and as evident, that this is commonly the Diſeaſe of warm and witty Men, who truſt to their own Sufficiency, and have brisker Parts than their Neighbours; (ſuch as, Part II. according to our former Scheme, may deſerve a Place toward the upper Part of the middle Claſs of Souls. For ſuch as theſe, we commonly find by Experience, are more looſe in their Principles, more particular in their Opinions, more extravagant and diſorderly in their Manners, than any other ſort of Men whatſoever. There are but very few of this Conſtitution, fit to be left to their own Conduct; or who know how to manage their Abilities to their own Safety and Advantage, and how to let their Judgments run beyond the common eſtabliſh'd Opinions, without plunging out of their Depth, and paying dear for their Raſhneſs. A great and ſprightly Wit, well temper'd with Solidity and Diſcretion, is now ſo hard to be found, that it is almoſt a Miracle among Men. For this is an Edged-Tool, and apt to do great Miſchief, if it be not in a very Wiſe Man's Hand: 'Tis like a nimble Sayler without Balaſt, whoſe Swiftneſs does but haſten its Ruine, and drive it ſo much the ſooner upon Rocks and Shelves. And if Hiſtory be enquir'd into, all the Diſorders in the State, Hereſies in the Church, Revolts in Armies, Parties and Factions of every kind, will be generally found to have taken their Riſe

from ſuch Authors as Theſe. * *Great Errors* (ſays one) *have never ſprung from any but great Wits; Nothing is more prejudicial, more deteſtable to true Wiſdom, than too much Smartneſs of Parts.* No doubt, That Man hath a better Time on't. lives longer, enjoys more Eaſe and Happineſs, and is better qualify'd for Government, (ſays *Thucydides*) who is but moderately, or not ſo much as moderately, provided in Point of Natural Parts, than He, who hath a very Noble and Tranſcendent Elevation of Soul: For This Temper commonly is good for nothing, but to create Trouble and Torment, and never let one's ſelf, or others, live in quiet. It is obſervable, that the deareſt Friends, when they fall out, make the bittereſt and moſt irreconcileable Enemies: And that the ſoundeſt Health, and moſt vigorous Conſtitutions, are ſubject to the acuteſt and moſt mortal Diſeaſes; and our Minds do ſo far ſympathize with our Bodies, that Thoſe of them, whoſe Operations are more quick and ſubtle than ordinary, are of all others moſt exquiſite in their Follies, and have the ſtrongeſt Propenſion to Madneſs and Extravagance. Wiſdom and Folly may be ſaid to dwell pretty near one another; there is but a ſhort Turn between them; the Behaviour of diſtracted People plainly ſhews it. Philoſophy tells us the ſame Predominance of Humours diſpoſes to both; for each abounds in Melancholy. And ſure there is no Folly comparable to That which we find is the Effect of nice and ſubtle Wiſdom. This mov'd *Ariſtotle* to affirm, That *Nature never made a great Soul without an Allay of Folly*; and *Plato* upon the ſame Account declar'd, That *it was a vain Attempt for a Man of good Judgment and ſound Senſe to knock at the Door of Poetry*;

* Magni errores non niſi ex magnis ingeniis; nihil Sapientiæ odioſis acumine nimio.

That

That was not a Place for ſuch as him to be admitted into; The Solidity of his Judgment wou'd hinder the Soaring of his Fancy. And upon this Conſideration it is, that the moſt skilful and celebrated Poets have not always thought it neceſſary to ſubmit to Rules, but approve of extravagant Flights, and the giving one's ſelf a Looſe now and then. Thus we may underſtand thoſe known Sayings, * *It is pleaſant to fly out. 'Tis decent ſometimes to be vain. While the Mind continues it ſelf, its Performances are mean: Great and Noble Thoughts require a vehement Agitation to give them Birth.* Creech, Hor. Ode XII. Lib. IV.

16. *The neceſſity of reſtraining it.*

Upon this account, They were certainly in the right, who have ſet ſtrong *Barriers* and *Boundaries about the Soul.* The Neceſſity of curbing and fettering it with all manner of Reſtraints, with the Articles and Precepts of Religion, with the Authority of Laws and Cuſtoms, the Rules and Sciences of Learning, the Promiſes of Reward and Threatnings both in This and a Future State; This Neceſſity, I ſay, hath been well conſider'd both by God and Man; and great indeed it is; for notwithſtanding all theſe Checks, the Soul hath its Frolicks and Flyings-out ſtill; and in theſe Humours, it leaps over, and burſts thro' all; ſo exceeding fierce and intractable, ſo head-ſtrong and ſelf-conceited is it naturally: And therefore *Art* muſt manage, and make it tame, for *Force* is to no purpoſe at all. † *The Mind of Man* (ſays *Seneca*) *is naturally ſtiff and rebellious, continually bending the wrong way, and bearing hard upon the Bit; and is eaſier led than driven, as high-mettled Horſes are*

* Inſanire jucundum eſt. Dulce eſt deſipere in loco. Non poteſt grande & ſublime quicquam niſi mota mens, & quamdiu apud ſe eſt.

† Natura contumax eſt Animus humanus, in contrarium atque arduum nitens; ſequiturque facilius quam ducitur, ut generoſi & nobiles equi melius facili fræno reguntur.

better ridden with a Snaffle than with a Curb. It is a much ſafer Courſe to keep it under the Cuſtody of a Guardian, to ſooth and gently lay this indiſcreet Minor aſleep, than to let him have his Head, and ramble abroad at his own Pleaſure, and go his own Pace. For, if the Mind be not very regular and prudent, as well as very lively and ſtrong, (the Conjunction of which Qualities make that happy Diſpoſition of Souls, of the firſt and higheſt Order) or if it be not weak, and tender, and ſomewhat dull of Apprehenſion, (which were ſaid to be the Characters of the laſt and loweſt Set) there is great hazard of its loſing and ruining it ſelf, by the Freedom it takes of examining and judging Things, and ſubmitting to no Preſcription or Authority. And therefore very expedient it is, that it ſhou'd be put under ſome Confinement; and if it go abroad, that it be duly and conveniently equipp'd: For there is greater need of a Clog than of Wings; and of a ſtreight Rein, than of a Spur: The Advice of *Phœbus* to his Son;

* *Son, ſpare the Whip, and ſtrongly uſe the Rein;*
They of their own accord will run too faſt,
'Tis hard to moderate their flying Haſte.

That Advice is neceſſary here too; otherwiſe This, like another *Phaeton*, and his Steeds ungovern'd, wou'd ſet the World on Fire. The Prevention of that Inconvenience, is what hath been chiefly aim'd at by all thoſe Great Men, who have either modell'd Mankind into particular Societies at firſt, or devis'd Laws for them ever ſince. And this ſort of Men are the very Perſons, with whom both the Founders and the Governors of States

* Parce puer Stimulis, & fortiùs utere Loris.—— *Ovid.*

have

have been moſt of all perplex'd. For the Common People, and thoſe of meaner Capacities, are generally more peaceably diſpoſed, than thoſe whom *Wit* and *Parts* make thoughtful and buſy, and conſequently factious and troubleſome. The general Genius of a People is very remarkable to this purpoſe; for in the ſingle City of *Florence*, who are a Sharp-witted People, there have been more Seditions, and Civil Confuſions, within the Compaſs of Ten Years, than have been known among all the honeſt dull *Swiſſes* and *Griſons* for above Five hundred Years together. And juſt ſo it is with particular Perſons in the ſame Community: They that have but a bare Competency of Underſtanding, are generally the honeſteſt Men, the beſt Subjects; more flexible and tractable, more contented to ſubmit to the Laws, to be commanded by their Superiors, to hearken to Reaſon, and be govern'd by it, than theſe briſk and diſcerning Sparks, whoſe Parts and Penetration are above being controul'd by Power or Perſuaſion, and put them upon new Hazards and Projects, and will not let them content themſelves with their own Buſineſs, and ſleep in a whole Skin. So very wide a Difference there is between *Wit* and *Wiſdom*.

17. *The Defects of the Mind.*

The *Mind* hath likewiſe its *Defects*, Decays, and Diſeaſes, as well as the *Body*, and indeed the Number of theſe is greater, the Conſequence of them more dangerous, and the Cure of them more difficult and impracticable, than that of Bodily Diſtempers. For the better underſtanding of theſe, it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh them into their ſeveral Sorts. Now ſome of theſe are purely Accidental, and fall upon it from outward Cauſes. Among which we may take notice of Three more eſpecially.

Accidental.

The Firſt is, The *State and Diſpoſition of the Body*. For Diſeaſes which make any Alteration in the

Temperament of the Body, do manifeſtly carry their Influence farther, and produce a mighty Alteration in the Mind, and impair the Judgment at the ſame time. Sometimes the Subſtance of the Brain is not of a good Compoſition, and ſo the Organs of the Soul are not in a Condition to do their Duty. And this again happens either from a Fault in the firſt Formation, as in Them who have an ill-ſhap'd Head, too little, or too round; or elſe from ſome accidental Hurts afterwards, as many have ſuffer'd extremely in their Reaſon and Memory, by Falls, and Blows, and Wounds upon their Head.

From the Body.

Prejudicate Opinions.

For the Second Cauſe of theſe Defects, we may aſſign that *Univerſal Infection of common and popular Opinions entertain'd in the World*; With which the Mind is tinctur'd early, and theſe take Poſſeſſion, and uſually keep it obſtinately. Or, which is yet worſe, ſometimes wild and fantaſtical Deluſions have been drunk in, and with theſe the Mind is ſo ſtrongly ſeaſon'd, ſo groſly cheated, that They are not only not diſmiſs'd, but made the Rule of our Judgments, and the Meaſure of Truth in other Caſes. All is brought to this Standard; and receiv'd or rejected as it agrees or diſagrees with it. Here the Man fixes his Foot, and will not be got one Step backward or forward. The Inſtances of this kind among the Vulgar are infinite; moſt of whom are guided by ſome fantaſtical Notion, ſome erroneous Conceit, that hath grown up, and is like to live and die with them. And, indeed, when theſe Fancies or Opinions are common, they are like a ſtrong Torrent; Every Body hath not Force and Vigour of Mind enough to ſtem it, and keep himſelf from being carried down the Stream with his Neighbours.

Paſſions.

The Third, and That which ſticks much the cloſeſt to it of all the reſt, is the *Sickneſs and Corruption*

ruption of the Will, and the *Inordinacy and Strength of the Paſſions*. And in this Caſe, the Soul is a World turn'd upſide-down. The *Will* is made by Nature to follow the Directions of the *Underſtanding*; This is its Guide to inſtruct; its Candle to give it Light; but when once the Strength of Paſſion hath corrupted, and, as it were, laid violent Hands upon the *Will*, then the *Will*, in like manner, corrupts, and commits a Violence upon the *Underſtanding*. And from this diſorderly Procedure it is, that the greateſt Part of our falſe Judgments grow. Envy and Malice, and Love, and Hatred, and Fear, make us ſee Things with other Eyes; and take them for what they really are not; and draw ſuch Concluſions and Inferences from them, as they miniſter no juſt Ground for. From whence it is, that we ſo often are admoniſh'd, and do admoniſh others, *to judge without Paſſion*. This puts us upon all thoſe baſe and black Interpretations, by which we labour to eclipſe the virtuous Behaviour, and generous Actions of other Men; Hence we ſtudy and invent Cauſes and Intentions for them, and, of our own Malice, aſſign vain and wicked Motives and Occaſions for what they do. This is a moſt abominable Vice, and an evident Proof of great Malignity in our Nature, and of a diſeaſed Mind; There is no great matter of Wit or Judgment ſhewn in ſuch Proceedings, but they betray a World of Baſeneſs and Ill-Nature. For whence can all this Miſconſtruction ſpring, but either from that Envy, which our Neighbours Honour and Reputation provokes in us; or from a meaſuring of others by our ſelves, and ſo taking that for granted in Them, which we are conſcious of in Our ſelves; or from a Weakneſs and Diſtemper in the Mind, which, like ſome Sickneſſes in the Body, alters and vitiates the Palate, confounds and blinds the Sight, that we neither

ſee

ſee nor taſte Things as they are; and that Virtue, in its Native Purity and Luſtre, is too ſtrong for us to bear or conceive? From the ſame Cauſe it is, that we are ſo officiouſly ſpightful, in publiſhing other Mens Vices and Failings; that we aggravate theſe beyond what they deſerve, but take good Care to extenuate their Virtues as much; hence from ſingle Actions, and particular Circumſtances, we draw general Inferences, and fix ſtanding Characters upon Men; Hence comes our Partiality in judging, and our Regards, not to the Thing, but the Perſon. If he be a Friend; or of Our Opinion, or in Our Intereſt; then all he does is juſtified or applauded, and every Thing becomes him; and his very Vices are Virtues; But if he be an Enemy, if he have diſoblig'd us Perſonally, or be engag'd in a contrary Faction; he is ſtark nought, and nothing is as it ſhould be. Thus we are content to wrong and diſgrace our Judgment, provided we may but gratify our Paſſions. But alas! we are not come to the End, nor to the worſt Part of it yet; For moſt of the Impieties and Hereſies, the Errors in Point of Belief, and Controverſies of all ſorts in Religion, if we examine them ſtrictly, and trace them up to their firſt Head, will appear to be ſo many noiſom Streams of this bitter Fountain; a polluted and wicked Will, inordinate Paſſion and ſenſual Pleaſure; which by degrees bribes and debauches the Underſtanding, and wins it over to its own Side. *The People ſat down to eat and to drink, and roſe up to play*; As the Scripture obſerves of the *Iſraelites* Idolatry; and St. *Auguſtine* very well to this purpoſe; * *That when a Man feels an Error agreeable to him, he does not believe what is True, but what he would gladly have to be True.* Thus, by degrees, it hath come to paſs, that the Wickedneſſes which at firſt

* Quod vult, non quod eſt, credit, qui cupit errare.
Lib. 2. de Civ. Dei.

were

were committed with many Doubts, and Miſgivings, and great Reluctancies, have not only out-worn all Scruple in Time, but been aſſerted and maintained for Divine Truth, and Expreſs Revelation. What was at firſt in the Senſual Appetite only, hath made its Way higher, and got the upper Hand of the Underſtanding; what was meerly Paſſion and Pleaſure, hath been advanced into a Principle of Religion, and an Article of Faith. So dangerous a thing is it for any part of the Soul to be diſeaſed; ſo ſtrong the Infection, and ſo quickly does it ſpread from one Faculty to another. And thus you have had an Account, what thoſe Three Cauſes of our Mental Defects, and the Errors in our Judgment are, which were ſaid to be external and foreign to the Mind it ſelf. For it appears, that the Underſtanding may be wanting or impaired, by Means of Sickneſs or Bodily Indiſpoſition, more eſpecially any Diſeaſe or Hurt in the Head, or any inconvenient Shape of the Skull. From the prejudicate Opinions of the World, and taking up groundleſs Whimſies for meaſur'd and certain Truths. And laſtly, from any Diſorder in the other Faculties of the Rational Soul; which are plac'd below, and ought by Nature to be under the Governance of the Mind. Thoſe whoſe Failings proceed from the firſt of theſe Cauſes, deſerve our Pity, not our Cenſure or Blame; and of them ſome are curable, and others incurable. The Second are not wholly Innocent but yet Faulty in ſuch a Degree, that we may pardon, and excuſe them. But the Third ſort are altogether guilty. They deſerve both Cenſure and Puniſhment, for ſuffering the Order of their Creation to be ſo inverted, that thoſe which were born Subjects, and ought to ſubmit, ſhould uſurp the Throne, and preſume to give Laws to their Natural Sovereign.

But

16. *Its Natural Defects.* But, beſides theſe outward and accidental Failings, there are others, Natural and Internal, ſuch as take their firſt riſe from, and are born and cheriſhed in the Mind it ſelf. The greateſt of All, and indeed the Source and Root of all the reſt, is *Pride* and *Preſumption*. (The Firſt, and the Original Sin of Mankind, the Bane of every Soul, and the Cauſe of all manner of Evil.) 'Tis This that puffs Men up with *Sufficiency* and *Self-Satisfaction*; This will not ſuffer us to yield to any Body, or think others Wiſer or Better than our ſelves. This makes us deſpiſe the good Counſel of our Friends; and place an entire Confidence in our own Opinions. This calls the Judgments of other People into Queſtion; arraigns and condemns them; nay, ſometimes, ſuch as we underſtand nothing of, nor are capable of examing or comprehending the Reaſons of them. 'Tis moſt truly obſerv'd, that *Judgment* and *Wiſdom* is not only the Beſt, but the Happieſt Portion God Almighty hath diſtributed among Men. For tho' this Diſtribution be made with a very uneven Hand, yet no Body thinks himſelf ſtinted or ill dealt with; but he that hath never ſo little is contented in this Reſpect however, and thinks he hath a Child's Share at leaſt. Now This Diſtemper is owing to no Cauſe ſo much, as the want of being more intimately acquainted with our ſelves; for by this means we are Strangers to our Wants and Weakneſſes, and not at all ſenſible of our greateſt Misfortunes; So that the Root of all our Diſeaſes is *Ignorance*, not That which is oppoſed to Skill in Arts and Sciences, and converſing with the Writings of learned Men; but Ignorance of our own Affairs and Condition; the Removal and Cure whereof was propoſed in the Beginning, as the Deſign of this whole Firſt Book.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Memory.

MEMORY is very often miſtaken by the Vulgar for *Underſtanding* and *Good Senſe*; but in truth they are very different Things. For both Reaſon and Experience tell us (as hath been obſerved formerly) that it is very poſſible and uſual, for a Man, who is Excellent in one of theſe Reſpects, to be wretchedly weak and wanting in the other. This indeed is a Faculty very Serviceable and Uſeful to Mankind; but it comes far ſhort of the *Underſtanding*; and is much the Tendereſt, and moſt Feeble of all thoſe Parts, whereof the Rational Soul is compoſed. To excel in it is not very neceſſary; except for Three Sorts of People: 1. Men of *Trade, and much Buſineſs*. 2. Thoſe that are *extremely Talkative*, for this is the Store-houſe, from whence they muſt be furniſhed with Matter for Diſcourſe; and it is naturally more full and fruitful than Invention; but he that cannot be ſupplied from hence, muſt make it up by Stuff of his own forging. And, 3. *Great Lyars*, for * *Theſe, indeed, ought to have good Memories.* The want of Memory hath its Conveniences too. For this will diſpoſe Men to ſpeak Truth, to be Modeſt, and talk no more than their Share, and to forget the Faults and Injuries of other People. A moderate Proportion of this Faculty, will ſerve ones Turn, and anſwer all the Ends of it very well.

* Mendacem oportet eſſe Memorem.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Imagination and Opinion.

1. *The Effects of Imagination.*

THE Power of *Imagination* is exceeding great; This is in Effect the very Thing, that makes all the Noiſe in the World: almoſt all the Clutter and Diſturbances we feel, or make, are owing to it. (Accordingly it was obſerv'd before, that This is, if not the *Only*, yet at leaſt the moſt *active* and buſtling *Faculty* of the Soul.) And, in good Truth, the Effects of it are Wonderful, Unaccountable, and almoſt Incredible. For the Influences of *Imagination* are not confined to the Body or the Mind of that Perſon alone, where it is born and cheriſhed; but extend and transfuſe themſelves far and wide, and act very ſtrongly upon other People. It is fitted for all manner of Operations, and the moſt diſtant and contrary Paſſions are raiſed by it; it puts the Man into all manner of Forms, and the Face into all Colours and Complections: Makes Men bluſh with Shame, look pale with Fear, tremble and quake, caſts them into Fits of Raving and Confuſion; Theſe, tho' ſtrange, are yet ſome of its leaſt Effects, and gentle in Compariſon of others. It checks and enfeebles Men in their hotteſt Career; balks their Pleaſures, and chills all their Spirits. It marks and deforms, nay, ſometimes kills *Embryo's* in the Womb; haſtens Births, or cauſes Abortions; takes away the Speech, and ties the Tongue; and ſometimes enables the Dumb to ſpeak, as the Story of *Cræſus* his Son aſſures us. Makes Men Stiff and Motionleſs, benumbs and binds up the Senſes, ſtops

ſtops the Breath; Theſe are its Effects upon the Body. Then for the Mind, It robs Men of their Knowledge and Judgment, turns them into Fools and ſtupid Sots; as *Gallus Vibius* for Inſtance, who having ſtrain'd his Imagination too far in the ſtudy and practice of Folly, and its Motions, is ſaid to have diſturb'd his Underſtanding to that Degree, that he turn'd a mere Natural, and cou'd never return to ſound Judgment and good Senſe again. It inſpires Men with ſtrange Preſages of Things hidden and future, fills them with Enthuſiaſms and Fancies, out of the common Road of Thinking; throws them into Extaſies and Raptures; nay, poſſeſſes them with the Thoughts and Expectations of Death, till at laſt they die indeed; as it did that Malefactor, who, when his Cap had been pull'd over his Eyes in order to Execution, was found ſtark dead upon the Scaffold, when they came to uncover him again, and read his Pardon. In a word, A great part of thoſe unuſual Operations, which create ſuch Amazement in the Vulgar, Apparitions, and Viſions, and Witchcrafts, are to be attributed to the force of Imagination; and what They think done by the Power of the Devil, or ſome familiar Spirits, (for I meddle not here with the Supernatural Operations of God's own Spirit) is commonly no more than a ſtrong Fancy, either in the Perſon that does theſe ſtrange Things, or of the Spectators that are deluded with them, and think they ſee thoſe Objects, which really they do not. And the great Care in theſe Caſes is, to diſtinguiſh wiſely between Truth and Falſhood, and not ſuffer our Judgments to be captivated with vulgar Errours.

2. In this part of the Soul it is, that *Opinion* keeps its Reſidence, which is nothing elſe but a vain and eaſie, a crude and imperfect Judgment of things, taken up upon ſlight and inſufficient grounds;

too

too credulous an Assent to the Representations of our outward Senses, or common Report, which rests in the first Appearances of Things, and fixes in the Imaginative Faculty, without ever going farther, or referring the Matter to the Understanding, to be throughly examin'd, and digested there, and so wrought up, and finish'd into solid Reason. Till This be done, no true Judgment can be made, and such as a Man may venture to abide by. And accordingly we see the other is mutable and inconstant, fleeting and deceitful. A very dangerous Guide, that makes Head against Reason; of which it is only the Image and Shadow, and that but an empty and false one neither. This is the Source of all our Evils, our Confusions and Disorders, our Passions and Troubles; the most, and the worst of them rise out of a prepossest Fancy, and heated Imagination: So that in truth Mad-men and Fools, the Ignorant and the Mobb, are blindly led by the Nose by it, and follow this Leader; and betray their Folly in doing so; as Wise and Judicious Men distinguish themselves, and approve their Prudence in suffering nothing but *Reason* to guide and govern them.

That thus it is, we see plainly; for, as hath been observ'd long ago by one of the Ancients,

3. *The World is govern'd by Opinion.*

*It is not the Reality, nor the true Nature of Things, but the Notion and Opinion Men entertain of them, that disquiets, and so violently torments their Souls.** Thus we turn our own Executioners, form Evils to our selves which *are not*, and strangely aggravate those that *are*, by frightful Idea's, which belong not to them. The Truth and Essence of Things never enters our Minds in its true Pro-

* Opinione sæpius quam Re laboramus: plura sunt quæ nos terrent, quàm quæ nos premunt.

portions,

portions, nor works upon us by its natural Force and Authority; for were it thus with us, all Things that are alike in themſelves, wou'd be alike to us; and the ſame Object wou'd produce the ſame Affections and Reſentments in all Men, allowing only ſome ſmall matter of difference in the Degree of them. At this rate all Mankind wou'd be of the ſame Opinion: What is falſe would be univerſally rejected, and what is true as univerſally embrac'd; for *Truth* can be but one and the ſame; and is always equal and conſiſtent with it ſelf. But quite contrary, We find that the Difference of Opinions is infinite; Men do not only vary from, but directly contradict one another. And there are but very few Inſtances, in which even Men of the beſt Natural Abilities, and moſt eminent for their Improvements and acquir'd Learning, are all of a Mind. This ſhews ſufficiently, that the Idea's of Things are compounded and mix'd before we entertain them, that we have them at our Mercy, and put what Forms we pleaſe upon them; And, that the Condition they come to us in, is not what Nature gave, but what the Temper and Diſpoſition of our own Minds have moulded and modell'd them into. That which I firmly believe my ſelf, I cannot prevail with my Friend to believe; thoſe are Arguments to Me, which to Him are none at all. Nay, which is more; Let one be never ſo confidently aſſur'd of a Thing to Day, I cannot engage that I ſhall continue in the ſame Opinion of it to Morrow: And it is odds I may, (and plain that I often do) entertain very different Notions of it, and be quite otherwiſe affected with it another time. So ſure it is, that Things have juſt that Place in our Opinion and Eſteem, which we think fit to aſſign them; that they are reliſh'd juſt as our Palate ſtands at that time; and ſhew to us accor-

ding to thoſe Colours which we our ſelves have tinctur'd them with. Like the Eyes of Men in the *Jaundice*, or the *Priſms*, that refract and vary the Rays, that fall upon the Organs of our outward Senſes, ſo does the Soul alter its Objects too; and the preſent Conſtitution of it is the *Medium*, thro' which they muſt paſs to us. St. *Paul*'s Obſervation with regard to Morals, may be apply'd to Speculation too, *Unto the Pure all things are pure,* Tit. I. 15. *but unto the Defiled is nothing pure.* Thus our Thoughts are like our Clothes, that keep us warm, with a Heat which is none of their own, but ſuch as we firſt gave them, aud they keep it; and at the ſame time that they receive our Warmth from within, they receive and keep the Cold of Froſt and Snow without. But ſtill the Warmth we feel is all our own; we firſt impart it to them, and they in requital preſerve it for our Benefit, and pay what they received, back again to us.

4. How few are there of thoſe Opinions, which we profeſs to entertain, that, when look'd into, are not at laſt reſolv'd into Authority, and taken upon Truſt? We believe and act, we live and die upon Credit and Content; and our great Buſineſs is to conform our ſelves to Cuſtom, and to think and do like the reſt of the World, and according to what They, not our own Reaſon, eſteems moſt adviſeable. Thus *Faſhions*, and not *Judgment*, govern Mankind; and perhaps indeed, for the greateſt Part of Mankind, this is not much amiſs; for moſt People have not Wit enough to chooſe for themſelves, and therefore ought to reſign the Government of their Actions to others: But Wiſe Men are above theſe mean and ſervile Compliances; they have a better Rule to walk by than *Authority* and *Example*; as I hope to ſhew at large in the fol-
Book II. lowing Parts of this Treatiſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Will.

THE *Will* is a moſt exquiſite Piece, a magnificent Accompliſhment of Humane Nature indeed; of wonderful Importance, and ſuch as deſerves and requires our utmoſt Care and Study, to regulate and manage it well: For this hath the moſt commanding Influence upon a Man's Condition; and his whole Happineſs in a manner depends upon it alone. This is the only Faculty which Nature hath put in our own Power. All the reſt, ſuch as *Memory*, *Underſtanding*, *Imagination*, are at the Mercy and Diſpoſal of a Thouſand Accidents, which oftentimes diſturb, and change, and impair, nay, ſometimes deſtroy, and take them quite away from us. Again: This draws the whole Man after it, and carries him whitherſoever it ſelf is determin'd; for he that conquers the *Will* hath ſubdu'd the Perſon. When the *Underſtanding* is convinc'd, the Conqueſt is by no means entire; for the *Will* frequently holds out afterwards, and makes an obſtinate Defence againſt Reaſon and ſober Judgment. But when once This yields, All is ſurrender'd, and the Man is not now any longer his own Maſter, he hath from thenceforth nothing left that he can call his own. Once more; This is the very Thing that fixes our Character; It makes and it denominates Good or Ill Men: This gives our Temper and Complexion, and we appear to the World under its Colours and Diſpoſitions. As of all Virtues and Qualifications of the Soul, *Probity* is the firſt and chief, and infinite-

1. *Its Pre-eminence.*

ly more deſirable than Learning or Parts: All that Nature, or Art, or Induſtry can give, are not comparable to it; ſo it muſt be confeſs'd, that the *Will*, which is the Seat and proper Reſidence of Virtue and Goodneſs, is infinitely the moſt excellent Faculty that Humane Nature can boaſt of. A Man is neither virtuous nor vicious, honeſt, nor diſhoneſt, for knowing what Virtue and Vice, Honeſty and Diſhoneſty are; tho' this Knowledge be never ſo nice and exact in the Speculation; but by his Inclination, and Love, and Practice of theſe Things, by the Diſpoſition of his Mind, the Choice of his Heart, the Bent of his Affections, and the general Tendency of his Manners and Behaviour. There are indeed ſome other Preeminences peculiar to the Underſtanding; it is as the Husband in the Family, and this as the Wife, which ought to be under its Governance and Direction: That is the Guide, or as the Light, This as the Traveller, which ſhou'd follow its Inſtruction, and walk by them: But ſtill the laſt Reſult of all depends upon the *Will*; This finiſhes the Action, and determines the whole Matter; and in that reſpect the *Will* is ſuperior even to the *Underſtanding* it ſelf.

2. The true and moſt remarkable Difference between theſe Two Faculties, with regard to the manner of their Operation, ſeems to be this: That by the *Underſtanding* Objects come into the Soul, and are there receiv'd and entertain'd, as the ſeveral Terms by which the Offices proper to this Part, are uſually expreſs'd, (ſuch as Apprehending, Conceiving, Comprehending, and the like) do plainly import. And here they make their Entrance, not according to what they really are in their true Nature and full Proportions, but according to the preſent Diſpoſition and Capacity of the Perſon, and in ſuch Meaſures only as he

is

is able to receive them in. Thoſe Objects which are great and ſublime, are for this reaſon under a neceſſity of condeſcending and contracting themſelves, and come to us with conſiderable Abatements and Defalcations; becauſe the Paſſage at which they enter is not large enough for their true Height and Bulk: Juſt as the Ocean flows into the *Mediterranean*, not in ſuch Quantities as are agreeable to its own Fulneſs, but ſuch only as the *Streight's Mouth* can give Admiſſion to. Now in the Operations of the *Will*, the Method is quite contrary; Here the Soul goes as it were out of it ſelf, it ſtretches and moves forward toward the Object; it ſeeks and runs after it with open Arms, and is eager to take up its Reſidence, and dwell with the Thing deſir'd and belov'd: Nay, it even transforms it ſelf into *That*, aſſumes its Name and its Nature, wears its Livery, and is diſtinguiſh'd by the Things it ſerves, and retains to. Hence we give it the Title of a *Virtuous* or *Vicious*, a Spiritual or a Carnal Mind; according as it purſues commendable and exalted Objects, or is ſunk into Senſuality and Vice. Thus the true and only way by which the *Will* can ennoble it ſelf, is by loving and chuſing worthy and noble Things; and the abandoning it ſelf to little and low, baſe and unworthy ones, is the debaſing and diſparagement of it. So that our former Compariſon is in this regard juſtify'd again; for thus the *Will* is as a Wife, who gets or loſes Quality, according to the Perſon ſhe marries; and in Strictneſs can claim no Honour, nor Place, but that which belongs to her Husband.

Daily Experience aſſures us, that there are *Three Things* which whet and ſtimulate the *Will*; The Difficulty of Obtaining; The Rarity or Excellence of the Thing we ſeek; and The Abſence, or Fear of Loſing it. And the Three Conſi- 3.

derations oppoſite to Theſe, which are, Its being Eaſy, and in our own Power; The Abundance or Commonneſs of it; and The Conſtant Preſence, and Secure Enjoyment, do as much blunt and pall our *Will.* The Three former raiſe our Eſteem of any Thing; the Three latter render it cheap, and beget Neglect and Contempt. We are alſo ſharpned and made more eager by Oppoſition and Refuſal; and entertain ſome ſort of Indignation, which makes us more reſolute againſt any thing that pretends to ſtand in our way, and diſappoint our Deſires. And thus, in the other Extreme, we diſdain and overlook the Bleſſings we have in hand, tho' never ſo valuable; and loſe what we are already poſſeſs'd of, for Things diſtant and in Reverſion; and in Proportion, what we lawfully do or may enjoy, for ſuch as we cannot or ought not.

* *What comes with Eaſe we nauſeouſly receive;*
Reſtraint inflames; and Hardſhips Pleaſure give.

Thus the Caſe ſtands with us in our Pleaſures of all ſorts. † *The Danger, which in reaſon ſhould abſolutely deſtroy Delight, is the very thing which heightens it, and the ſtrongeſt Incentive to our Appetites in the Purſuit of it.* So that both Extremes have at laſt the ſame Effect, and either of them ſerves to make us miſerable: Want and Plenty, Security and Fear, Deſire and Enjoyment, all give us the ſame Diſquiet, and put us to perpetual Pain. And this unhappy Diſpoſition is the true Account, why Men ſo ſeldom make a right Eſtimate of Things; from

---

* Quod licet ingratum eſt, quod non licet, acrius urit.
Ovid Eleg. Amor. Lib. II.

† Omnium rerum Voluptas ipſo quo debet fugari periculo creſcit.

whence

whence grew that Proverb of the *Prophet in his own Country*, to intimate, how very different Intrinſick Worth and Common Opinion are; and that the higheſt Endowments, and moſt Divine Excellencies, when Cuſtom and Acquaintance hath render'd them familiar to us, can no longer preſerve the Value and Veneration moſt juſtly due to them.

What Courſe is to be taken for the managing and regulating our Will, will be ſhewn hereafter. *See* B II. Ch. 2. B III. Ch. 6

The Paſſions and Affections.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *Paſſions* of the Mind are a very large and copious Subject, furniſh great variety of Matter for Reflection, and are one of the moſt conſiderable Topicks in all this Treatiſe of *Wiſdom:* And, upon this Occaſion, we are to obſerve, that the firſt Step to be made in this Branch of it, is to learn the true Nature of the Paſſions, and how to diſtinguiſh them from each other, which ſhall be taught you here in the *Firſt Book:* And then, for the Remedies of Cure, by which they are to be curb'd, controul'd, and brought within due Bounds, ſuch of them as are general will be laid down in the *Second*; And thoſe that are proper for each Paſſion in particular, will be directed and ſpecify'd accordingly in the *Third Book.* This Method being moſt agreeable to that Scheme of the whole Work, drawn out in the *Preface.*

Now in order to attaining a clear and diſtinct Knowledge of them at preſent, I deſign to employ one Chapter in treating of the *Paſſions* in general, and then to ſpeak of each *Paſſion* ſingly in the Chapters

that follow. But before I enter upon That, I think my ſelf oblig'd in Juſtice to declare, that of all the Authors I have ſeen, none hath repreſented this Matter more copiouſly, and to the Life, than the *Sieur de Vaux* in his Moral Tracts; to whom I have been much beholding, and have borrow'd a great deal from thence, of what I ſhall ſay upon this Subject of the *Paſſions*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Paſſions in general.

An Account of Paſſion; what and whence it is.

1. *Paſſion is a violent Motion of the Soul, in that which is diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of its Senſitive Part*: And the Cauſe and Tendency of this Motion is, either to purſue ſomewhat which the Soul apprehends to be *Good*; or to decline and run away from ſomething which it apprehends to be *Evil*.

2. But it is very neceſſary, and of great Conſequence upon this Occaſion, to be rightly inform'd how theſe Motions begin, and what it is that cheriſhes and kindles theſe Fires in us. Of This, ſeveral Accounts may be given, and different Compariſons made uſe of to illuſtrate it by, according to the different Reſpects in which we conſider them. And firſt of all, with regard to the Suddenneſs and Vehemence of their Emotions, it is to be obſerv'd, That the Soul, which, however ſeemingly multiply'd by Diſtinctions, is really but one and the ſame in the Body, hath ſeveral Powers belonging to it; and Theſe differ greatly in their Qualities and Operations, according as the ſeveral Veſſels in which the Soul keeps her Reſidence, and

and the Inſtruments ſhe makes uſe of in diſcharging her Functions, and the Objects propounded to her Contemplation are differently diſpos'd. Now when the Parts, where the Soul takes up her Lodging, are not crowded or over-burden'd, but fill'd in ſuch Proportions as ſute well with their ordinary Cuſtom and Capacity, and ſuch as are convenient for a due Diſcharge of their reſpective Duties, then all the Operations of the Soul are gentle and mild, ſedate and regular. But, on the other ſide, when any of theſe Parts are either put into a ſwifter and more violent Motion, or are heated above their ordinary and proper Temper, then they immediately feel a conſiderable Change, to the great Prejudice and Diſorder of the Soul. The like we ſee in the Beams of the Sun, which, when ſcatter'd looſely with all that Freedom they naturally take in diffuſing themſelves, impart a moderate and gentle, a cheriſhing and kindly Warmth; but when contracted within the Concave of a Burning-Glaſs, they burn up, and quite conſume the very Things to which they gave Life and Nouriſhment before. It muſt be farther obſerv'd too, that Theſe Parts are not always diſtributed alike; And from hence ariſes another Diſtinction, not only with regard to the Kind and Quality, but to the Degree of their Emotion; and ſo they differ in the ſame ſort, as their Violence is greater or leſs. Thoſe Motions that are moderate, are capable of being reliſhed and digeſted; a Man knows what he feels, and is in a Condition of expreſſing his Reſentment in Words, or giving it Vent by Tears. But thoſe that are exceſſive and extreme, are too big, and too mighty. They ſtun and take away our Senſes quite, fill the Soul with Confuſion and Amazement, bind up, and quite over-bear her Powers, and diſable her from acting.

* *Slight*

* *Slight Paſſions find a Vent, and Words command;*
The Fierce ſwell inward, dumb and ſtupid ſtand.

2. *Of the Vicious Irregularity in them.*

Thus much may ſuffice, to give us ſome little Notion of the *Paſſions*, the manner of their Operation, and their Degrees in general. But if we now look upon them, in the Second Place, with regard to the Viciouſneſs, and Irregularity, and Extravagance; the Injuſtice and Unreaſonableneſs theſe Paſſions are frequently guilty of; thus Man may not unfitly be reſembled to a State or Commonwealth, and the Condition of the Soul, to that of a Monarch, preſiding over that State, conſtituting ſeveral Officers and Magiſtrates under him, to aſſiſt in the good Government of ſuch vaſt Multitudes of People; giving particular Laws and Directions for their Behaviour, and for the due Exerciſe of their particular Charges and Commiſſions; but ſtill reſerving to himſelf and his own Supreme Juriſdiction, the Cognizance and Determination of all Matters of great Weight and general Importance; and for the giving freſh and neceſſary Orders, commanding that all extraordinary Accidents and Emergences, ſhould immediately and faithfully be reported to himſelf in Perſon. Now upon ſuch a Conſtitution, and ſuch Orders duly obſerv'd, the Peace and Proſperity of the whole Kingdom will depend. But if theſe be neglected and broken, and put out of their proper Courſe; If the Magiſtrates, which go between, and are a ſort of Balance between King and People, ſhall ſuffer themſelves, either to be impos'd upon thro' Eaſineſs or Credulity; or corrupted by Favour or Affection; or if they ſhall employ their Authority

* Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent. *Senec. Hippolyt.*

in

in acting contrary to the eſtabliſhed Laws, and Duties of their Places; or, if they ſhall go beyond their Commiſſions, and come to a final Reſolution in Cauſes, which they ought not to determine, without ever laying them before their Sovereign, who hath reſerv'd the Hearing and Deciſion of all ſuch Matters to himſelf in Perſon: In all theſe Caſes, I ſay, the publick Peace is violated, the Eſtabliſhment infring'd, the Prerogative incroach'd upon, and nothing but Miſchief, and Miſery, and Confuſion can be the End of it. Now thus it is likewiſe in our *Little World.* The *Underſtanding* is *King* in *Man*; and under him is employed a Faculty, whoſe Buſineſs it is to receive Idea's, and to make an Eſtimate of them; This is the Subordinate Magiſtrate, whoſe Office obliges him to examine, and to judge; the Evidence he goes upon, is that Report the Senſes make of all Things repreſented to them; and according to this Teſtimony, and the Judgment in Conſequence of it, the Affections are by the ſame Faculty put forward, in order to execute this Sentence. For his Direction, and Governance in the Execution of this Office, our Judge in Commiſſion hath the Law, the Light of Nature, and Dictates of Reaſon to go by; and this, in ordinary Caſes, is ſufficient without any farther Formality: But if it happen, that the Affair be of great Moment, or if any Difficulty ariſe, then he muſt have recourſe to, and know the Pleaſure of his Superiour; and in this Caſe the Underſtanding, which ſits Supreme, anſwers all Doubts and Points of Law, and expects to be conſulted and applied to for Orders and Advice. This is the Scheme of our Government and Conſtitution; and ſo long as Matters are thus managed, all is quiet and well. But it is our great Unhappineſs, that this Imaginative Faculty, (which is under the Intellectual, but over the Senſitive, and

to

to whoſe Juriſdiction the firſt Examination and Judgment of Things belong,) often ſuffers it ſelf to be bribed, corrupted, impoſed upon; and the Effect of this is, Firſt to paſs wrong and raſh Judgment; then to ſet the Affections at work to very ill Purpoſe; and at laſt to diſturb, and confound, and ruine All. Now ſeveral things there are, which may contribute towards the depraving, and diſordering this Power, in its Judgments and Operations: As firſt of all; The *Senſes* themſelves, which cannot penetrate into the Bottom, nor compehend the real Subſtance, and hidden Nature of Things, but the bare Surface, and next Appearance of them only: And theſe make a Report to the Soul, according to their preſent Apprehenſion; ſet before it the outward Images only, and that, ſo as may gain them Favour and Recommendation, and pre-poſſeſſing it with a Character of their Qualities, founded upon the Satisfactions and Delights they are capable of adminiſtring to theſe Senſes in particular, and not upon the Conſiderations, how Neceſſary, or how Advantagious they may prove to the whole Man in general. A Second Corruption, which often confirms, and ſtrikes in upon the Neck of This, is the Falſe Notions, and Unthinking Cry of the *Vulgar*; when we look upon our ſelves oblig'd to Approve and Diſapprove, as Others do; and when nothing is reputed needful to eſtabliſh an Opinion, more than its being Popular. From theſe two falſe Offices of Intelligence, The *Report of our own Senſes*, and the *Voice of the People*, proceeds a raſh Inconſiderate Opinion, which the Soul takes up of Things; and without fair Tryal, or ſufficient Deliberation, pronounces them, Good or Evil; Advantagious or Hurtful; fit to be courted, or fit to be deteſted and avoided. And this is without all Diſpute a very dangerous Guide; a very hot and haſty Miſtreſs;

for

for as ſoon as ever we entertain it, without more ado it ſeizes upon the Imagination; and there ſtanding upon its Defence, ſtrengthens it ſelf as in a Caſtle, mans all the Works, and holds it out againſt Reaſon; then it comes down to the Heart, and there ſtirs and agitates the Affections, with the violent Reſentments of Hope and Fear, and Joy and Grief. In a Word, it is a perfect Incendiary in the State, looks out all the Fools, and diſaffected in the Soul, and blows them up into Sedition; raiſes the *Mobb*, that is, the Paſſions, and ſets all in an Uproar and Confuſion. And all this by taking wrong Methods, going Headlong to work, and not ſubmitting the Matter to the *Underſtanding*, as by the Nature of this Eſtabliſhment, and the Duty of its Station, that Faculty was obliged to do.

Permit me to ſet before you another Illuſtration of this Matter by a Compariſon taken from Military (as the former was an Alluſion to Civil) Government. The *Senſes* anſwer here both to the Centinels, whoſe Poſt it is to watch, and be conſtantly upon the Guard, for the ſafety of the Soul; and alſo to Scouts, who are to look out, and ſcour the Country, and bring in Intelligence to the *Underſtanding*, which is the Supreme *Commander* of the *Soul*. To qualifie them for this Duty, They are endued with a Power, of perceiving Things; diſcerning and taking the Faces and Forms of them; and embracing or rejecting them, according as they appear Agreeable or Diſagreeable, Delightful or Odious to them. But now in the Execution of their Office, their Buſineſs is only to ſpy out, and to report; to take Care, that their Intelligence be true, and to bring it Faithfully, and relate it Plainly and Calmly. And they ought to ſatisfie themſelves with delivering their Meſſage, without taking upon them to diſturb the higher Powers, or to ſound to Arms immediately, and ſo put all into Con-

Conſternation and univerſal Diſorder. And thus it often happens; that as the Centinels in an Army, may lie under Miſtakes, becauſe they are not acquainted with the ſecret Deſigns of the General; and ſo receive Them for Friends, which are Enemies in Diſguiſe; and ſuſpect thoſe for Enemies, which are Allies, and marching to their Aſſiſtance; The *Senſes*, in like manner, not being privy to all that paſſes above, and for want of conſulting Reaſon in the Caſe, are frequently impoſed upon by counterfeit Appearances, and apt to take That for a Friend, which is, in truth, our deadly Enemy. And when they go giddily to work upon this Imagination, and without ever expecting Orders from the *Underſtanding*, fall on immediately, and alarm the *Concupiſcible*, and *Iraſcible* Faculties; then they raiſe Tumults, and Mutinies in the Soul; and while theſe laſt, there is nothing but Clamour and Violence; the Voice of *Reaſon* cannot be heard, nor the Commands of the *Underſtanding* be at all obeyed.

4. *Their Diſtinctions.*

According to the Object and Subject.

Six in the Concupiſcible Part.

Three for Good, and Three for Evil.

Let us now in the next Place, obſerve their ſeveral Regiments and Ranks; the General, and the Subordinate Kinds and Diviſions of them. Now we muſt know, That all *Paſſion* whatſoever, is moved by the Appearance, either Real or Imaginary, of Good or Evil; what actually is, or what is by the Perſon apprehended ſo to be. If the Object be Good, and the Soul conſiders it as ſuch, ſimply, and without any other Circumſtances, this is that Motion of the Soul, which goes by the Name of *Love*. If to that Good, ſo conſidered as before, be added the Circumſtance of its being preſent, and the Man reflect upon himſelf, as in full Poſſeſſion and actual Enjoyment of it, This is call'd *Joy*, or *Pleaſure*; but if it be future and diſtant, then it is *Deſire*. On the other Hand, conſider an Evil Object, abſtractedly, and merely as ſuch, and the

the Paſſion it ſtirs in us, is *Hatred:* If it be preſent, and affect us ſenſibly, it is *Grief* and *Pain*; if ſome other Perſon labour under it, 'tis *Pity* and *Compaſſion*; if it be future and approaching only, then 'tis *Fear*. And This is remarkable, concerning the Paſſions already named; that Thoſe of them, which proceed from the Apprehenſion, or the Appearance of Evil, ſuch as we run away from, and are poſſeſt with an Abhorrence of, do of all others ſink deepeſt into the Heart, take faſteſt hold of us, and are moſt difficult to be diſpoſſeſt again. This now is the firſt Regiment of Mutineers, which diſturb the Content, and break the Peace of our Souls, and theſe are quarter'd in that which is term'd the *Concupiſcible* Part. The Effects and Diſorderly Carriage of Theſe are, it muſt be confeſt, of very dangerous Conſequence; but yet they are not near ſo outragious and Miſchievous, as thoſe that we are going to mention. For theſe firſt Motions, formed here by the Repreſentation of the Object, are afterwards continued, and communicated to the *Iraſcible* Part of the Soul, that is, The Place, where the Soul is active, and contriving Means to obtain what ſhe apprehends to be Good; and to deliver her ſelf from that which ſhe apprehends to be Evil. And then, as a Wheel already in Motion, when a freſh Force puſhes it, receives that Addition eaſily, and whirls about with wonderful Strength and Swiftneſs; ſo the Soul, which is already ſtirred and warmed with the firſt Apprehenſion, when a Second Attempt is made upon it, and the Coals are blown, flames out, and is tranſported with Rage and Violence, much greater than before. The *Paſſions* Then raiſed, ride higher; are much more furious and ungovernable; for now indeed they are double: the firſt have come in and joyned them, and thus they back and ſuſtain one another, by this

Five in the Iraſcible; Two for Good, and Three for Evil.

this Union, and mutual Conſent. For the former Paſſions, which were the Reſult of Good or Evil in Appearance, conſidered in Speculation only, now fall in with the Practical Conſideration of Means proper for the acquiring or avoiding them, and ſo excite in us *Hope* or *Deſpair*. And here, thoſe that ariſe from the Proſpect of a future Evil, produce in us, either *Fearfulneſs* or *Courage*; the Apprehenſion of a preſent Evil, kindles *Anger* and *Indignation*; which are Paſſions extremely Furious and Violent, and ſuch, as when they find the *Reaſon* once diſturbed, confound and abſolutely overturn it. Theſe are the Principal Winds, that raiſe all the Storms in our Souls; and the Cavern (like that of *Æolus*) where they are ingendred, and from whence they break looſe, is nothing elſe but *Opinion*, (and *Opinion* is moſt commonly a falſe, fleeting, and uncertain Thing; contrary to Nature and Truth, to Reaſon and Certainty) that is, A Notion we have, that the Things which are then repreſented to our Imaginations, are Good or Evil. Nor matters it much, how wild, and extravagant, this Notion is in it ſelf, provided we do but give it Entertainment. For Men proceed not upon Realities, but upon their own Fancies; and when once we have taken a Conceit that a Thing is Good or Evil, we run after, or we run away from it, with as much Eagerneſs and Impatience, as if it were actually ſuch; and yet it often, very often happens, that the Nature of the Object is directly contrary to our Apprehenſions, and ought to move Reſentments, juſt oppoſite to thoſe we feel upon its Account. And ſuch in general are our *Paſſions*.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Nature of these *Passions* comes next to be consider'd; and my Design in it is, to expose the Folly, the Vanity, the Misery, the Unreasonableness and Injustice, the Horror and Deformity that is in them; that so Men may be taught to know them as they are, and to hate them as they deserve. The Advices proper for preserving our selves from the ill Effects of them, will be deliver'd at large in the following Books. For the two Parts of a Physician's Business, you know, are first to shew the Disease, and then to apply fit Remedies. My present Care then shall be, to tell Men what they ail, and where their Distemper lies; and for the Prescriptions they must wait a little longer.

See Book III. *In the Vertues of Fortitude and Temperance*

Now of the several *Passions* here to be describ'd, those shall first be spoken to, which have a respect to the Appearance of Good, such are *Love*, and the several sorts of it; *Desire*, *Hope*, *Despair*, *Joy*, and the like. And after these we will enter upon those that are excited in us by the Apprehension of Evil, which indeed are very numerous, as *Anger*, *Hatred*, *Envy*, *Jealousy*, *Revenge*, *Cruelty*, *Fear*, *Grief*, and *Compassion*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Love in general, and at large.

Love compar'd with and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt.

LOVE is the Firſt, the Chief, the Reigning Paſſion; the reſt are all deriv'd from, and reduc'd at laſt into This; But it is of vaſt Extent, employ'd upon different Subjects, diſtinguiſh'd into different Sorts and Degrees. Of Theſe the *Three* principal that fall within our preſent Purpoſe, and to which all the reſt may very well be referr'd, are *Ambition* or *Pride*, which is the Love of Honour and Greatneſs; *Avarice*, which is the Love of Riches; and *Senſuality*, or *Carnal Deſire*, which is the Love of Pleaſure. (Theſe I call ſuch as come within our preſent Deſign, which is to treat of *Love*, as it is vicious, and the effect of Paſſion; for *Virtuous Love*, which may be diſtinguiſh'd into Friendſhip, Charity, and Natural Affection or Tenderneſs, is out of the compaſs of this Place, and will be ſpoken to under the *Virtue* of *Juſtice.*)

Book III. The *Three* foremention'd *Paſſions* are thoſe Three Gulphs and Precipices, that drown ſo great a Part of the World in Deſtruction and Perdition; the Plagues of Mankind; from the Infection whereof, how few, exceeding few eſcape untouch'd? The Corruptions that taint every Part of us, even All we are, and All we have, and All we take in hand; our Souls, and Bodies, and Poſſeſſions: Theſe are the Magazines, from whence thoſe Three mortal Enemies of the Peace and Salvation of Mankind, the *Devil*, the *World*, and the *Fleſh*, furniſh themſelves with Arms to aſſault and deſtroy

deſtroy us. They may in Truth be call'd Three *Powers* or *Potentates*, the commoneſt and moſt univerſal Paſſions, whoſe Territories are ſo large, that the Apoſtle hath divided the whole Univerſe between them. *All that is in the World* (ſays he) *the Luſt of the Fleſh, and the Luſt of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life.* 1 John ii. 16.

Of theſe, *Ambition* is the moſt refin'd and ſpiritualiz'd, and hath therefore been eſteem'd more noble, or leſs mean, than the Two others. *Senſuality*, or *Love of Pleaſure*, in regard of its being more Natural and Univerſal, (for even Beaſts, which are wholly unacquainted with the other ſorts, have a Share in this) is more violent, and leſs vicious. When I ſpeak of Violence, I mean, conſidering it ſimply, and according to the Nature of the thing. For tho' it may, and ſometimes does happen, that *Ambition* prevails over it, yet this is a particular Diſtemper, a Caſe excepted from the common Courſe, and general Rules. But of all the reſt, *Avarice* is the moſt ſtupid and ſenſleſs Paſſion, the ſureſt Symptom of a ſordid and ſickly Mind.

CHAP. XX.

Of Ambition.

Ambition is a Thirſt of Honour and Glory, a greedy, and gluttonous, and inordinate Deſire of Greatneſs. It is naturally a gentle and pleaſing Paſſion, which with much Eaſe inſinuates it ſelf into Great and Generous Spirits, and is not driven out again without great Difficulty. We all think it our Duty and Commendation, 1. *Definition of it.*

to purſue and embrace that which is *Good*; and of all Things that pretend to this Character, *Honour* is moſt in requeſt and eſteem with us. And therefore all of us run full ſpeed, and put our ſelves upon the utmoſt Stretch, where This is the Prize. The Ambitious Man ſtrives to be firſt, keeps his Eye forward upon the Goal, and upon thoſe that have the Start of him; but forgets and takes no notice of the many he hath outſtript himſelf. He feels more Diſcontent for One Man that hath got before him, than he enjoys Satisfaction for a Thouſand that he hath left lagging after. *Seneca* obſerves very well, * *This is the conſtant Fault, and inſeparable ill Quality of Ambition, never to look behind it.* Now *Ambition* is of *Two* ſorts; The *One* aſpires after Glory and Honour, a Good Reputation, a Great and Immortal Name; and this is of great Uſe and Publick Benefit; It is not only allowable, but in ſome Senſe, and under certain Qualifications and Reſtraints, highly commendable: The *Other* ſort affects Greatneſs and Power; and this is generally not only vicious, but deſtructive, and of moſt fatal Conſequence to the World.

2. *'Tis natural to us.* *Ambition* hath this peculiar Advantage, that the Seeds of it are ſown, and the Root of it faſt fix'd in the Heart of every one of us. We have a Proverb, indeed, which tells us *Nature is contented with a very little*; but then we have another too, that ſays with as great Truth the direct contrary; That *Nature is never ſatisfy'd*, nor capable of being contented at all. A Man never comes to the End of his Deſires, ſo as to ſet up his Reſt, but is always for climbing a little higher, and growing a little richer. No Man goes a mode-

* Habet hoc vitium omnis Ambitio, non reſpicit.

rate

rate Pace, or chooſes to advance leiſurely towards Greatneſs and Glory; but lays the Reins in the Neck, and rides Whip and Spur. † *Humane Nature is greedy of Preference and Power, and drives furiouſly on toward the gratifying thoſe Deſires.* And, indeed, their Speed is oftentimes ſo great, that the Riders are thrown, and break their Necks; as Hiſtory and Experience ſhew a world of Aſpiring Men to have done, who have paid dear for all their Hopes, and loſt both Them and Themſelves, juſt when they were in View, and upon the Point of enjoying their promiſed Happineſs. This, in ſhort, is a Paſſion riveted into, and interwoven with our Conſtitution; it ſeizes us early, 'tis violent while it laſts, and leaves us very late; from whence ſome of the Philoſophers have wittily called it the *Shirt of the Soul*, the *Vice next our Skin*, and that which is laſt pull'd off. * For even Wiſe Men are obſerv'd to ſtrip off all other Vices, before they quit this Deſire of Glory and Reputation.

3. *Its Strength and Superiority.*

As *Ambition* is the moſt violent and powerful in its Influences and Effects, ſo is it likewiſe the loftieſt and moſt noble in its own Nature, of any Paſſion whatſoever. The Power and Force of it is manifeſt, in that abſolute Maſtery it gains over all other Things, even thoſe which the World is moſt ſubdu'd by, even all other Paſſions and Deſires. Nay, even *Love* it ſelf, which ſometimes pretends to diſpute the Point of Power and Precedence, is yet miſerably vanquiſh'd and tyraniz'd over by it. *Alexander*, *Scipio*, and *Pompey*, are ſo many Inſtances of this Obſervation; and

† Natura noſtra Imperii eſt avida, & ad implendam Cupiditatem præceps.

* Etiam Sapientibus Cupido Gloriæ noviſſima exuitur. *Tacit.*

ſo are abundance of great Generals beſides, who have refus'd to gratify their Inclinations, upon extraordinary fine Women, when they had them at their Mercy: And all this from no other Principle than a Point of *Honour*; and a Soul enflamed with *Ambition*; to which the Fires of Love were ſo far from being equal, that they were made ſubſervient to it; and the Conqueſt of theſe Deſires became a Triumph and a Sacrifice to their Glory. Thus it happen'd very remarkably in *Cæſar*; for no Man alive was ever more fiercely addicted to Amours of all ſorts than He, (as the many Extravagances he had been guilty of both at *Rome*, and abroad in Foreign Parts, abundantly teſtify) no Man was ever more choice of his Perſon, more nice in Dreſs, more careful to preſerve and render it agreeable to the Ladies; and yet *Ambition* was evermore his reigning Paſſion. The Pleaſures of Love, tho' they had him in perfect Subjection, when This came not into Competition with them, were then ſo feeble, and ſo over-match'd, that they never could prevail for the throwing away upon them ſo much as one Hour, which was capable of being employ'd, or made in any degree ſerviceable to the promoting his Honour. So that, notwithſtanding the Mixture of any other Paſſions, which had their Seaſons too; yet *Ambition* ſat ſupreme in his Soul, and was to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if It had had the ſole and entire Poſſeſſion of him. 'Tis true, we meet with an Example, the very *Reverſe* of this, in *Mark Anthony*, and ſome Others, who have been ſo enſlav'd by Love, as to give up All, baniſh their moſt neceſſary and weighty Cares, and loſe themſelves, and their Crowns, through mere Effeminacy and Neglect. But then theſe have been Perſons of quite different Tempers; for where both meet together, and are fairly weigh'd one

Conquers all other Paſſions.

one againſt the other, *Ambition* will caſt the Scale. Some indeed, who argue for the Force of *Love* above it, tell you, that in reaſon it muſt needs be ſo, becauſe This extends to the Body as well as the Mind, keeps the whole Man in Captivity, and is not only agreeable, but neceſſary and convenient too. But I ſhou'd think, the Reaſon holds on the contrary ſide, and that *Ambition* is therefore the ſtronger, becauſe the more Spiritual Paſſion: What they pretend of the Body being alſo concern'd in Love, proves the Paſſion to be ſo much the feebler; for from hence it muſt, by neceſſary Conſequence, be capable of being ſatiated and cloy'd. Again; What is Corporeal it ſelf, admits of Corporeal Remedies and Cures, ſome which Nature provides, and others which Art invents; and accordingly Experience hath approved theſe, and ſhewed Inſtances of many who have beaten down the hotteſt *Flames of Love*; and of ſome who have overcome and quenched theſe quite, by artificial Means, and good Management. But now *Ambition* is ſo far from being glutted, that its Appetite is never ſatisfy'd. Enjoyment does but whet it more; and being ſeated wholly in the Soul, and the Reaſon, renders the Diſeaſe obſtinate and incurable, incapable of outward Application, and too deep and ſubtle for Medicines to reach and faſten upon.

4. *The Care of Life.*

It does not only conquer the Regard for one's own Health and Eaſe, (for indeed *Honour* and *Eaſe* can never dwell together) and make Men content to ſacrifice all their Quiet, and Comforts, and Enjoyment of the World; but even the natural Care and Tenderneſs for our very Lives is not able to ſtand before it. *Agrippina*, the Mother of *Nero*, was an eminent Example of this Nature, who being extremely deſirous that her Son ſhould be Emperor, and inform'd, that he

ſhould be Emperor indeed, but it ſhould be at the Expence of Her Life, made an Anſwer fit for the Mouth of *Ambition* her ſelf, cou'd that be perſonated: Provided he may have the Power, (ſaid ſhe) I am content it ſhould be upon the Condition of uſing it to my Deſtruction. * *Let my Son kill me, ſo my Son may but reign.*

5. *The Laws.* Thirdly; *Ambition* makes its way through all Laws, and tramples Conſcience it ſelf under Foot: The great Profeſſors of Morality, who tell you, that a Man muſt make it his Buſineſs to be entirely Virtuous, and pay an univerſal Obedience to Laws; yet when they ſpeak of *Ambition*, begin to mince the Matter, and are content to make an excepted Caſe of it. A Crown it ſeems is ſo ſweet, ſo delicious a Morſel, that the Temptation is invincible, and deſerves a Diſpenſation. The moſt abſtemious Man may ſtrain a Point, and break his Faſt upon this Feaſt. * *If ever Breach of Law and Equity be allowable,* (ſays one) *it is in the Caſe of gaining a Kingdom; but in every thing elſe, be ſure to be ſtrictly Virtuous.* "Not that even in "this, or any Caſe, ſuch Liberties are to be in-"dulg'd; but They who thus expreſs themſelves, "ſignify the ſtrong Propenſity of Humane Na-"ture to this Paſſion; how ſtrong it is in all, "and how difficult to be ſubdu'd by any, who are "tempted with very great Advantages.

6. *Religion.* With the ſame Inſolence does it treat the Holieſt Things, eraces all the Reverence of God, and treads *Religion* under Foot: For what greater Contempt of theſe can be ſhewn, than the World have ſeen in *Jeroboam*, who eſtabliſh'd an Idolatrous Worſhip for the ſecuring his Throne; and *Mahomet*, who gave general Encouragement to all

* Occidat modo imperet. † Si violandum eſt Jus, regnandi causâ violandum eſt, in cæteris pietatem colas.

Per-

Perſuaſions, and valu'd not which was uppermoſt, ſo he might reign: And the old Broachers of Hereſies, who rather choſe to forſake the right Way, and ſo become Heads of Parties, and Ringleaders in Falſhood and Lyes, tho' a Thouſand Diſorders and Impieties were the viſible and unavoidable Conſequences of that wicked Choice, than to continue in a lower and leſs conſpicuous Station, by being Diſciples and Followers of the Truth? With regard to ſuch as theſe it is, that the Apoſtle hath admirably foretold the Doom of Ambitious Men, That they who ſuffer themſelves to be intangled in theſe Snares, *make Shipwrack of a good Conſcience, err from the Faith, and pierce themſelves through with many Sorrows.* 1 Tim. i. 6.

In ſhort; It changes Men's Natures, hardens their Hearts, and makes them brutiſh; defaces all thoſe tender Impreſſions and Reſentments, which are moſt cuſtomary, and moſt due to our neareſt Relations. The infamous Accounts, which Sacred or Prophane Hiſtory hath recorded, the Barbarities and Murders committed upon the Perſons of Parents, or Children, or Brethren, are moſt of them inſtigated by this *Paſſion.* Witneſs *Abſalom,* and *Abimelech,* and *Athaliah. Romulus, Sei* King of *Perſia,* who ſlew his Father and his Brother; *Soliman* the *Turk,* that diſpatch'd his two Brothers. So unable is any Thing to ſtand againſt the Force of this impetuous Paſſion, which is for removing every Thing out of its way; and where-ever it takes its Courſe, overturns, and lays all level with the Ground. 7. *Natural Affection.*

* That which renders the Caſe yet more deplorable, is, that the Nobleſt and moſt Generous 8. *It is a lofty Paſſion.*

* Eſt autem in hoc genere moleſtum, quod in maximis Animis, ſplendidiſſimiſq; ingeniis plerunq; exiſtunt honoris, imperii, potentiæ & gloriæ Cupiditates. *Cic. Lib.* 1. *de Offic.*

Spi-

Spirits, ſuch as Nature ſeems to have deſign'd for Maſter-pieces and Patterns, are moſt liable to this Paſſion. It is in it ſelf a tall and ſtately Quality, and none but great Souls are capable of giving it Reception. This was the Temptation which ſeduc'd the *Angels* themſelves; a Temptation of all others beſt accommodated to Their Circumſtances, and perhaps the Only one the Perfection of their Nature cou'd be corrupted by: For *Ambition* is a Vice not ſuited to mean and little Souls. Your pitiful ſcoundrelly Fellows cannot come up to it; nor can common and indifferent Performances pretend to any Reward or Deſert, ſuch as it thirſts after. Glory and Renown always imply ſomewhat Brave and Great, and of a larger Size than ordinary; they are never to be bought at cheap and eaſie Rates; but are the Recompence and Effects of Good and Beneficial, ſhall I ſay? nay, rather of Great and Noble, and very Difficult Actions; of uncommon and wonderful Excellencies; ſuch as excite Admiration and Aſtoniſhment, at the ſame time that they command Honour and Applauſe.

That ignoble greedineſs of Reſpect, that baſe and beggerly way of gaining Reputation, which ſubmits to cringing and fawning upon all ſorts of People, and declines the uſe of none, no not the moſt ſcandalous Methods of acquiring it; is ſordid and ſhameful. Such Honours are a Scandal and Diſgrace. A Man muſt take care not to expreſs ſuch an Eagerneſs after theſe Things, as is inconſiſtent with the Things themſelves; not to be exalted and puft up with vain Opinions of one's ſelf, every time he does well; for he that does thus, procures his own Diſhonour; and while he ſtrives with great Pains to lift his Head above the Crowd, diſcovers his *Nakedneſs* and *Shame* at the ſame time.

Am-

Ambition is intricate and various; it takes several Roads, and exerts it self by very different Methods. Sometimes it goes to work openly, and marches ſtrait up to the Mark; and thus *Alexander*, and *Cæſar*, and *Themiſtocles*, and other truly generous Spirits have proceeded. Sometimes it works in Secret, and goes in crooked Paths; and thus ſome Philoſophers, and great Pretenders to Piety and Virtue, have indulged themſelves in the Exerciſe of it. They fetch a Compaſs, and come in at the Back-Door; like Water-Men, that row one way, and look another; they have laboured to get Honour, by a ſeeming Neglect, and contempt of Honour: And no Doubt, as *Plato* told *Diogenes*, there is more Glory, and greater Vanity, in refuſing, and trampling upon Honours and Preferments, than in ſeeking and enjoying them. And *Ambition* never manages it ſelf with greater Cunning and Succeſs, than when it goes out of the beaten Road, and comes up to the Prize ſome unuſual, and unſeen Way. 9. *It operates different Ways.*

Ambition is without Queſtion a very vain and fooliſh Paſſion; For after all, what does it ſo Zealouſly purſue, or what can be the Gains of it, when rightly computed? It is giving Chaſe to a Vapour, catching at Smoke, inſtead of Fire and Light; embracing a Shadow, inſtead of Body and Subſtance; it is making a Man's whole Happineſs precarious, ſuſpending all the Satisfaction and Content of his Mind, upon Popular Opinion, the Humour, and the Breath of an ignorant and changing Multitude. It is a voluntary, and conſequently the very worſt, and moſt deſpicable Slavery; the parting with our own *Native Rights* and Liberties, and depending upon the *Arbitrary Paſſions* of other People: 'tis the putting one's ſelf under perpetual Conſtraint; and engaging to act contrary to one's own Senſe, in Hopes, by diſpleaſing and diſapproving 10. *The Folly of it.*

ving our ſelves, to pleaſe and gain the Approbation of Standers-by; 'tis a ſacrificing our Affections and Reaſon to the Capriciouſneſs of Spectators; 'tis the *proſtituting* of *Conſcience* to common Opinion; renouncing all love of Virtue, any farther than the World ſhall pleaſe to like, and keep it in Countenance; and 'tis the doing of Good, not for the ſake of Goodneſs, but merely in Conſideration of the Credit and Advantage to be got by it. In a Word, ſuch Men are like full Veſſels, that muſt be pierced for the Liquor they contain; not one Drop can be drawn from them, unleſs you give them Vent; nor any Benefit to be had of theſe Qualities, but ſuch as takes Air.

11. *'Tis Inſatiable.*

Ambition hath no Bounds; 'tis a deep *Gulph* without Bank or Bottom; This is that true *Vacuum*, or vaſt empty Space, which the Philoſophers after all their ſtudy, have never been able to diſcover in Nature; a Fire that feeds, and grows upon the Fewel we heap upon it. And in this Reſpect indeed it is juſt to its Maſter, and pays him for his Pains. For *Ambition* is only juſt in this, that it is ſufficient for its own Puniſhment, and never fails to teaze and torment it ſelf abundantly. What the Poets have couched under the Fable of *Ixion*, is the Reſtleſs Motion of the Ambitious Man's Deſires; Theſe are the Wheel that rolls to all Eternity within its own Circle, and, by its conſtant and wearieſome Returns, gives no quiet, no relaxation to the Mind of the vain Man that is condemned to turn it.

12. *The Excuſes for it, vain.*

Some, who have undertaken to flatter *Ambition*, pretend in its Vindication, that it is of great Uſe to Virtue, a Whet and Spur to brave and noble Enterprizes. For Men are content to abandon many other Vices, for the ſake of This; and by degrees come at laſt to reſign this too, for the ſake of Virtue. But alas! the Matter, when critically exa-

min'd

min'd, will be found far otherwiſe. 'Tis true, *Ambition* covers over, and conceals many *Vices*; but it takes away, and throughly reforms never a one. And even that Induſtrious Concealment, is but for a Seaſon. It rakes them up, like Fire in the Embers, under the Duſt and Rubbiſh of Hypocriſy, and Miſchievous Diſſimulation; but it is only to keep the Fire from going out, that it may be blown up, and flame out again more fiercely than ever, as ſoon as this Cheat hath carried its Point, and Men have gain'd Authority ſufficient to bear them out in Bare-fac'd Wickedneſs. When the Man is in Power, and too Big for Puniſhment, or Controul; then, and not before, you ſee what he truly is. Before that, truſt him not; for if you do, you will be apt to miſtake him. When Serpents are numb'd with Cold, they have ſtill the ſame Venom in their Nature, though the Effects of it be ſuſpended for the preſent: and the Ambitious Man hath ſtill the ſame Vices, the ſame Heat and Fury; he carries it about him; how Gentle, and Tame, and Cool ſoever his Diſguiſe may be. The Fiſh is not yet caught; but when it is, then he will come abroad, in his true Colours, and Natural Complexion; and though *Ambition* ſhould make ſo good Progreſs toward Virtue, as to quit all other Vices; yet there is but very little Hope or Appearance of its ever renouncing it ſelf. It puſhes Men to Brave and Illuſtrious Actions, I confeſs it; and the Benefit of theſe Actions to the Publick is unſpeakable; but though Others may reap the Fruit, and be the better for ſuch Actions, yet it will not follow, that the Perſon who does them is one whit the Better for them. Theſe may be the Effect of *Paſſion*, and not of *Virtue* or Principles; and if they be ſo, this Excuſe is vain. For at preſent it is not the *Profit*, but the *Intrinſick Goodneſs* of ſuch Exploits, that we are inquiring

ring into. I know indeed this Paſſion ſhelters it ſelf under that very excellent Maxim, *That We are not born for our ſelves alone, but for the General Good of Mankind*; But how good a Sanctuary this is, the Methods made uſe of for riſing in the World, and Mens Behaviour after their Promotions and Succeſſes, muſt ſhew. And Theſe, if they be nicely obſerv'd, will give us Cauſe to ſuſpect, that the Men, who talk at this Rate, ſpeak againſt their own Conſciences; and that *private Intereſt* is at leaſt an equal, if not a ſtronger *Motive* to the Generality of Mankind, than the *Good of others.* Men look nearer Home in all they do, and That, how large ſoever the Pretenſions to it may *be*, (for we cannot wonder, that Men ſhould pretend at leaſt to One of the beſt and moſt valuable Qualities in the World,) yet a *truly Publick Spirit* is very rarely to be found.

See Advice *and* Remedies *again his* Paſſion *in particular.* Book III. Chap. 42.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Avarice, and the Paſſions oppoſite to it.

1. *What it is.* BY *Avarice* is to be underſtood an inordinate Love, and vehement Deſire of Riches. Tho', indeed, it is not only, the Love and Fondneſs for them, that deſerve this Name, but all Sort of over-curious Niceneſs, and ſollicitous Concern about Riches will bear it very juſtly; even the Care of diſtributing them; and Liberality it ſelf, if it take up too much of our Time and Pains, in ordering and making it exact. In ſhort, All manner of Anxious Thought, with relation to Riches, ſavours ſtrongly

ſtrongly of this Paſſion; for they ought to be entertain'd and uſed with a becoming Negligence, and to be looked upon, as they really are, not worth any earneſt Attention of the Mind, nor a fit Object of our Care and Trouble.

2. The vehement Deſire of Riches, and the mighty Pleaſure of Poſſeſſing them, is merely Fantaſtical; a Creature of our own Imagination, and hath no Being, no Foundation in Nature at all. 'Tis a Canker, or Gangrene in the Soul, that ſpreads and mortifies, and with its Venom corrodes and quite conſumes all Our Natural Affections, and fills us with noxious and virulent Humours in their ſtead. No ſooner hath This taken up its Dwelling in our Hearts, but immediately all thoſe Tenderneſſes, and kind Concerns are baniſhed thence, which either Nature inſpires, or Virtue recommends, and improves in us. All the Duties and Regards we owe to our Relations, to our Friends; nay, to our very Selves, are no longer of any Conſideration with us. All the World, when ſet in competition with Intereſt and Profit, goes for Nothing; and at laſt we come to that paſs, as even to over-look and deſpiſe our own Perſons; our Eaſe, our Health, our Bodies, our Souls, All are ſacrificed to this Darling, this adored Wealth; and, as the Proverb expreſſes it, *We ſell the Horſe to get the Provender.*

3. *The Folly and Miſery of it.*

Avarice is a mean ſordid Paſſion; the Temper, or rather the Diſeaſe, of Fools and Earth-Worms, who eſteem *Riches*, as the *Supreme Good*, and moſt exquiſite Attainment Humane Nature is capable of; and dread *Poverty* as the *Laſt of Evils*; who cannot content themſelves with a bare Competency, or ſuch Proviſions as are neceſſary for their Subſiſtence, which indeed are ſo ſmall, that very few want them. They meaſure their Riches by the Bags and Weights of Bankers, and Goldſmiths; whereas Nature teaches us to make a different

ferent Judgment, and directs us to the Standard of our own juſt Occaſions. Now, is not this the very Extremity of Folly, to fall down and worſhip That, which Nature hath taught us to deſpiſe, by caſting it under our Feet, and hiding it in the Bowels and dark Caverns of the Earth; as a thing not fit for publick view; but to be trampled and trod upon, as a juſt Object of our Neglect, and an Intimation of its own Worthleſneſs? There it was Originally, and there it had remained to all Eternity, had not the Vices of Mankind ranſack'd thoſe dark Cells, and with great Difficulty and Violence drawn it up: and great their Reward of ſuch Induſtry hath been: For what have they gain'd by it, but the Ground of Infinite Controverſies, and Quarrels, and Blood-ſhed, and Rapine, a Fatal Inſtrument of devouring and deſtroying one another? * *We take unſpeakable Pains to fetch up that above Ground* (ſays one) *which, when we have it, ſerves us only to fight for. Nay, we are not out of Countenance to have thoſe very Things in higheſt Eſteem, which God and Nature had made loweſt, and thought the deepeſt Mines of the Earth, a Place good enough for.* Nature indeed ſeems in ſome Meaſure to have given ſure Preſages, how Miſerable thoſe Men ſhould be, who are in love with *Gold*, by the manner of its Growth, and the Quality of the Soil that produces it. For, as That Ground where the Veins of this Metal are found, is Unprofitable for other Uſes; and neither Graſs, nor Plants, nor any other Thing, of Value and Service to Mankind, will grow there; it is in this Reſpect a moſt lively Emblem of the Minds of Men, which are enamour'd with it; They being, in like manner, the moſt ſordid, and abject, and

* In lucem propter quæ pugnaremus excutimus; non erubeſcimus ſumma apud nos haberi, quæ fuerunt ima Terrarum.

aban-

abandon'd Wretches, curſed and condemned to Barrenneſs; void of all Honour, loſt to all Virtue; and no kind of thing that is good in it ſelf, or beneficial to the World, is to be obtained or expected from them. What a horrible Degradation is this? And how do we leſſen and diſparage our ſelves, when we give up that Dominion and Liberty to which we were born, by becoming Servants and Slaves to the very meaneſt of our Subjects? * For *Riches* (as is moſt truly obſerv'd) *are the Wiſe Man's Servants, and the Fool's Maſters.* And, in Truth, the Covetous Man cannot be ſo properly ſaid to poſſeſs Wealth, as That may be ſaid to poſſeſs Him. He hath it indeed, but he hath it in ſuch a Senſe only, as he hath a Fever, or ſome violent Diſeaſe, which hath got an abſolute Maſtery over him, and preys upon his Vitals, and all his Faculties. How extravagant is it to dote upon That, which neither hath any Goodneſs of its own, nor was ever able to make any one Man good ſince the Beginning of the World? A Thing that *Providence* diſtributes promiſcuouſly, and with a negligent Hand; ſcatter'd in common to all the World, and the greateſt Share, very often, permitted to the worſt and moſt ſcandalous Part of Mankind? Nor is this all. For, tho' the Thing be indifferent in its own Nature, and that ſingle Conſideration is ſufficient to wean, or at leaſt to moderate, our Affections; yet the Effects and Conſequences of it are by no means indifferent, but in the Iſſue and Event, incline ſtrongly to the Worſe. The Debaſement of Mens Minds, and the Depravation of their Manners, being the manifeſt and frequent Effect of it. And, though it cannot be proved, that *Riches* ever reform'd one ill Diſpoſition, and

* Apud Sapientem Divitiæ ſunt in Servitute, apud Stultum in Imperio.

made it Virtuous; yet there are innumerable Inſtances of Perſons otherwiſe well-diſpos'd, who have been corrupted and made Vicious by their Means. And when we have computed all the Conveniences that attend them, and repreſented theſe in their beſt Light, and to all poſſible Advantage; it muſt be acknowledg'd after all, that a great many Wiſe Men have liv'd very eaſy and happy without them; and a great many more Fooliſh and Naughty Men have dy'd ſcandalouſly for them. So then They are no *neceſſary Ingredient* of *Life*, and they expoſe us to Danger and Diſgrace, and Death. In a Word, This is to act upon our ſelves the Barbarity and Tyranny, for which the cruel *Mezentius* was infamous; to tie the Living Body to the Dead Carkaſs, that ſo it may languiſh and expire with greater Torment; to mix a Noble and Refined Spirit, with the Droſs and Excrement of the Earth; to perplex and involve the Soul with innumerable Difficulties and Tortures, which this Paſſion will be ſure to bring upon it; to entangle one's ſelf in the Snares of the Wicked one, and voluntarily to be taken Captive by the *Adverſary of Souls*, as the Scripture admirably expreſſes it. And, indeed, there is ſcarce any Vice more pathetically, and more frequently decry'd in thoſe Holy Books. Where we find theſe very ſignificant Characters given of It; *The Unrighteous Mammon*; *The Thorns which choak the Good Seed* of Piety and Virtue; *The Robber, that ſteals away Mens Hearts and Affections*; *The Nets and Snares of the Devil*; *The Idolatry*, that draws Men off from the Regard and Worſhip of the True God; and *The Love of Money, which is the Root of all Evil.* And ſure, if Men would but turn their Eyes inward, and obſerve that Ruſt and fretting Canker of Sins and Diſcontents, and deſperate Anxieties, which *Riches* breed in their Hearts, with the ſame

Luk. xvi. 9.
Matt. xiii. 22.
1 Tim. vi. 9.
Coloſſ. iii. 5.
1 Tim. vi. 10.

Atten-

Attention and Diligence, that they gaze upon their glittering Metals with, the Conſequence of This muſt be, that They wou'd then be as much, and as generally hated and deſpis'd, as now, we ſee, they are belov'd and admir'd. * *Neceſſity* wants many Things; *Covetouſneſs* wants every Thing. † The Covetous Man is good to No Body, but worſt of all to himſelf.

4. *The contrary Paſſion.*

Not but that there is another Paſſion in the contrary Extreme, which is by no means free from Vice neither; and that is, a down-right Deteſtation, and obſtinate Refuſal of Riches: For this is refuſing the Means and the Opportunities of doing good, and putting it out of a Man's own Power to practiſe many excellent and very beneficial Virtues. There needs but little Conſideration to convince us, that the uſing Riches as one ought, and getting an abſolute Dominion over them, is a Task much more laborious and difficult, than the being content under the Want of them; and a prudent and virtuous Behaviour in Poverty, is more attainable than a ſteady Goodneſs in the midſt of Plenty. In the former of theſe Circumſtances, a Man hath but One Attack to guard, and may bend all his Forces againſt That without Diſtraction; If he can but keep his Courage up from ſinking under the Affliction, and maintain his Ground with Conſtancy and Reſolution, he hath done his Buſineſs effectually. But the *Temptations of Wealth* and Proſperity are various, I had almoſt ſaid infinite; and the Duties which are expected from Perſons in that Condition, are proportionably ſo too. There muſt be *Temperance* in the Uſe of them; *Moderation* in our Deſires; *Liberality* to thoſe that want the Com-

* Deſunt Inopiæ multa, Avaritiæ omnia. † Avarus in nullum bonus eſt, in ſe peſſimus.

forts we enjoy; *Prudence* in the Choice of fit Objects to exerciſe that Liberality upon; *Humility*, and *Meekneſs*, and *Condeſcenſion*, and ſeveral others, too numerous to be ſpecify'd particularly. The Indigent Man hath only his own Virtue to take care of; the Rich muſt preſerve That, and hath another Task of Action and Diſtribution to take care of afterwards. He that diveſts himſelf of large Poſſeſſions, is at leiſure for greater and better Things, which mov'd ſome Philoſophers and Chriſtians to do ſo. He does at the ſame time disburden himſelf of a world of Cares and Sorrows, of Duties and Difficulties unavoidable, which attend the Management of himſelf, firſt in the Purſuit and Acquiſition, then in the Keeping, then in the Uſing and Diſpenſing of Wealth. So that upon the whole Matter, (except when done upon a Principle of Charity and Religion) This is only the declining of Sollicitude, and Buſineſs, and Trouble; and when ſuch Men pretend to Reſignation, and Magnanimity, and Contempt of the World, I ſhould make no Scruple to tell them very freely, *Gentlemen, You renounce theſe Things, not becauſe They are advantageous, and you are got above them, but becauſe you know not how to make a right Uſe of them, and are afraid of the Trouble and Hazard, which thoſe who make it their Buſineſs to poſſeſs and manage them as they ought, are of neceſſity expoſed to.* For when all is done, though *Riches* do not deſerve our *Hearts*, and are an Object *too low* for our *Affections*, yet they are as much *too high* for our *Diſdain*. And tho' no Wiſe Man will ſuffer himſelf to be brought into Bondage to them, nor deſire them immoderately, nor get them indirectly, nor place his Happineſs in them; yet when the Bounty of Providence hath dealt them to us fairly, and made them our *Lot*; in ſuch a Caſe, what *Seneca* hath obſerv'd is undoubtedly true,

true, That *for a Man not to be able to bear a plentiful Fortune, is not an Argument of his Wiſdom, but a Symptom of his Weakneſs and Littleneſs of Soul.*

CHAP. XXII.

Of Senſuality; and Carnal Love in particular.

THIS is a burning Fever, and furious Paſſion; and the Conſequences of it are infinitely dangerous, when a Man ſuffers himſelf to be vanquiſh'd and over-born by it. Such a-one is no longer at his own Diſpoſal; His Body ſhall endure a Thouſand Tortures in Purſuit of Pleaſure; His Mind a Thouſand Reproachings and Self-Condemnations: In ſhort, he feels a perpetual Hell, for the Service and Gratification of his filthy Deſire; That *Deſire*, if allow'd, and let alone, will turn to *Rage* and *Madneſs*; and yet a great part of this is unavoidable: For Nature hath given us the Inclination; and that is the Reaſon why it is common to All, and very ſtrong in the greateſt Part of Mankind. The Care incumbent upon Us muſt be, to keep a ſtrait Hand, and a conſtant Watch over this Paſſion; To check and divert its firſt Irregularities, and cool thoſe Fires which we cannot abſolutely quench: For, if indulg'd, it levels Men with Brutes, ſtupifies all our Wiſdom, baffles our Reſolution, confounds our Prudence and Conduct, breaks in upon our Contemplation, hardens the Conſcience, blinds the Eyes of the Mind, and diſturbs all the Operations of our moſt noble Faculties. This convinc'd *Alexander* that he was *Mortal*; and is ſuch another

1. *'Tis ſtrong naturally, and common.*

Argument of our Frailty, as Sleep is; for both of them agree in ſuſpending, ſuppreſſing, and binding up the Powers of the Reaſonable Soul.

2. *The Shame of it, whence.*

Philoſophy takes upon it to treat of all manner of Subjects, and uſes great Freedom of Expreſſion in doing ſo; that ſo the true Cauſes of Things may be diſcover'd, a right Judgment made of them, and proper Rules and Directions given for the governing our ſelves with regard to them. The ſame Thing *Divinity* does likewiſe, which is a Science infinitely more ſublime and refin'd, of nicer Honour, and greater Modeſty and Reſerve. And this Liberty may ſometimes be very convenient, nay, very innocent and chaſte; for the Sun ſhines upon Dunghils without contracting any of the Pollution, or ill Scents, by his Rays that fall there. "But this is a Caſe that requires "great Tenderneſs and Caution, and uſually "Silence is the moſt becoming, and the moſt "profitable: For one had better altogether con-"ceal and ſuppreſs thoſe Things, which, when "intended for Good, are yet liable and likely "to be made an ill Uſe of by moſt of Thoſe "into whoſe Hands they fall. And highly pro-"bable it is, that many Perſons have learn'd to "be more exquiſite in their Vices of this kind, "by thoſe very Precepts and particular Inſtruc-"ons, deſign'd to teach them how to prevent or "conquer thoſe Exorbitances". 'Tis true indeed, Nature by ſtrong Impulſes perſuades to theſe Gratifications; but yet it is as true, that ſhe teaches us to bluſh, and be out of Countenance at the very Mention of what ſhe is ſo importunate for. Some indeed pretend, that we ought to be aſhamed of nothing that is Natural; and that this *Affectation* of *Modeſty* ſerves only to ſharpen Mens Appetites the more; That we may as well be aſhamed for the Infirmities of

of our Bodies, the ſpontaneous Motions of our Lungs, and Heart, and Veins, and Arteries; our Eating, and Drinking, and Wearineſs, and Pain, and Sickneſs, and Dying; all which, like this before us, have their Motions and Intervals, without our Conſent or Knowledge; return by certain neceſſary Cauſes, and act upon us by unſeen Springs; and All, like This too, betray the great Weakneſs, and indigent State of Humane Nature. Our Brain diſcharges it ſelf by Defluxions, our Eyes by Tears, our Body by proper Evacuations; our Faces grow red or pale; our Bodies fat and lean; our Hair black, or white, or grey; and we are not concerned in, or for theſe Things; which yet are no more Natural than This; yet They, or any Diſcourſe of Them, is by no means ignominious or unbecoming, and in the preſent Caſe it is. To all which Objections it were ſufficient to oppoſe the general Senſe and Practice of all civiliz'd Perſons and Countries, who, in Proportion to their being poliſh'd and refin'd above others, have ever expreſs'd a greater Reſerve in educating their Children, in their own Behaviour and Converſation, and in looking upon all ſuch as impudent and profligate, who indulge looſe and wanton Diſcourſe; and even They, who are but too much Friends and Slaves to this Paſſion, chooſe rather to provoke it by diſtant myſterious Expreſſions, and nauſeate the Roughneſs and Rudeneſs of blunt uncomely Language. But ſtill you will ask, whence this *Shame* proceeds, and how that Cuſtom became ſo general. The Gratification of theſe Appetites, I grant you, is not ſhameful in it ſelf in the leaſt: It is truly and properly Natural; and no Shame is due to it, ſimply conſider'd; for Beaſts, 'tis plain, have no Senſe of any. But why do I ſpeak of Beaſts? The Sacred Oracles of God themſelves, have told us ex-

preſly, that This is no Appendage of our Nature; that while Man preſerv'd his primitive Purity, and was in that Condition which was originally and truly Humane, he had no Senſe of
Gen ii. 25. *Shame*, nor ever bluſh'd at his own *Nakedneſs*. Every Work of God is Sacred and Good, and nothing but the Abuſe can caſt a Blemiſh upon it. So that in Truth, Shame is only the Effect of Weakneſs, and that Weakneſs the Effect of Sin. *Shame* came into the World afterwards, and by Accident; it was no Part of the Creation, hath no Being in Nature, but is the *Creature* of our own *Wickedneſs*, and what we have brought upon our own ſelves, by making the *Workmanſhip* of God, *Inſtruments* of Vice and Pollution.

3. *How it is Vicious.* The true Reaſon then, which makes this Paſſion ſo violently condemn'd and run down, is not from any real Vice or Shame in it, when conſider'd abſtractly, and in its own Nature; but from the general Corruption and Inordinacy Men are betray'd into by it. For how very few are there, that have any Regard, to Moderation, or Diſcretion, or Decency? What infinite indirect Methods do they uſe for the gratifying of theſe Appetites? What Quarrels and Diſturbances, what Wars and Publick Confuſions, what Deſolation and Ruine have been owing to this accurſed Cauſe, this common, but moſt fatal Incendiary of Mankind? Inſomuch that the Wickedneſs of the Means that introduce theſe Pleaſures, and the long black Train of Conſequences they draw after them, are worſe a thouſand times than the Thing it ſelf: The Expence and Damages are infinitely more than the Purchaſe is worth. And all theſe ill Effects are peculiar to Mankind, for other Creatures know nothing of all this Clutter. But Men have uſed great Induſtry to trapan themſelves; On one ſide they make Laws to keep them off, urge *Religion*,

and

and *Modeſty*, and *Decency*, to reſtrain their Deſires; and yet, on the other hand, they ſharpen and inflame them, ſet all their Wits at work to contrive, to confound, to get over every Thing for the compaſſing their Deſires: Witneſs *Comedy* and *Poetry* particularly, whoſe pretended Beauties, even when moſt Chaſte, were chiefly ſeen in amorous Subjects; but now they have perfectly proſtituted themſelves to Lewdneſs, and ſeem to deſign nothing ſo much, as the laughing Virtue and Reſerve out of Doors, as if Theſe were the Things we ought moſt to be aſham'd of. But of all others, the moſt miſchievous Corruption of Nature ſeems to be the ſetting an extravagant value upon ſtollen and unlawful pleaſures; repreſenting Injuries of this kind as a piece of Gallantry and Accompliſhment; and ſuffering thoſe Methods to be deſpiſed and ridiculed, which both Divine and Humane Conſtitutions have aſſigned for ſatisfying Men's Natural Deſires, by *Honeſt* and *Honourable Marriage*.

For Directions and Remedies againſt this Vice, conſult Book III. Chap. 41.

CHAP. XXIII.

Deſires.

THE Sea it ſelf hath not more Waves and Billows, more inconſtant nor more furious in their Toſſings and Rollings, than the Heart of Man hath *Deſires*. This is a vaſt and boundleſs Ocean too, govern'd by Winds and Tides, various and uncertain; it is confus'd and irreſolute; ſometimes

1. *Deſires infinite.*

times wicked and deteſtable, but very frequently vain and ridiculous in its Deſires.

2. *Their Diſtinctions.* But the firſt and moſt neceſſary part of this Conſideration, ought to be a due Care to diſtinguiſh them rightly; for this is what they are very capable of. And here you may obſerve, That ſome of theſe are Natural; and they that be ſo, are juſt and lawful, and common to Us with Beaſts: They are likewiſe ſhort, and bounded in a narrow Compaſs; a Man may eaſily ſee to the End of them. For Theſe there is abundant Proviſion, and no Man is poor in this reſpect. An Occaſion of enlarging upon theſe will preſent it ſelf more conveniently hereafter; for in truth they do not properly belong to the Subject we are now upon, ſince, ſtrictly ſpeaking, they are not Paſſions.

The Others are either beſide, or beyond Nature; they have no Foundation in our Frame and Temper, but exiſt only in our Opinions, and are the Off-ſpring of Fancy and Imagination; theſe are Artificially form'd by Induſtry and ſtrong Impreſſion; they are ſuperfluous too; ſerve only to gratifie our Humours, not to ſupply any real Neceſſities. And if you wou'd have them diſtinguiſh'd from the former by a different Name, call them if you pleaſe, the *Covetings of the Soul.* Theſe are entirely our own; the Portion or the Scandal of our Species. Beaſts are altogether unacquainted with them; Man is the only Creature irregular in his Appetites. Theſe have no certain Mark to aim at, no End where to ſtop; but are eternally in Motion, run wild and at random, and know not what they would have. * *The Deſires which Na-*

* Deſideria naturalia finita ſunt. Ex falsâ opinione naſcentia ubi deſinant non habent. Nullus enim Terminus falſo eſt. Viâ eunti aliquid extremum eſt, Error immenſus eſt. *Sen.*

ture

ture ſuggeſts, are determined and finite; but thoſe which ariſe from Opinion and Whimſie, are infinite; for Error knows no Bounds. A Man that goes in the Road muſt come to his Joruney's End at laſt; but he that wanders out of the Way, may wander for ever. With regard to Theſe, no Man ever was, none ever can be Rich or Contented. Somewhat conſtantly falls ſhort, or ſome freſh Thing is wanting. Of theſe it is that the Poet ſpeaks,

Their Stores increaſe, and yet I know not what,
Still they do ſomething want,
Which neither Pains can get, nor Heaven can grant,
To ſwell their narrow, to a full Eſtate.

Creech, Horat. Od. XXIV Lib. III.

To ſuch wanton Longings of the Soul, the Characters ſet down at the beginning of this Chapter agree; and They are what we mean, and are now treating of under this Head of *Paſſions*. Theſe are the Things we ſweat and toil ſo vehemently for, the gaining what we might very well be without, and the ſatisfying Deſires which we ought not to entertain. 'Tis upon the Account, and for the Sake of Theſe, that we compaſs Sea and Land; that we take up Arms, and kill one another; nay, that Men kill and drown themſelves, betray and ruine themſelves; which gave juſt grounds for ſaying, that *Coveteouſneſs is the Root of all Evil.* The Matter indeed is ſometimes ſo order'd by *Providence*, that this inordinate Paſſion of the Mind ſhould be made its own Puniſhment; and while Men are greedy to gratifie their *fantaſtical Wants*, and glut themſelves with the Riches and Pleaſures of Fortune, they loſe a *real Good*, and cut them-

Scilicet improbæ
Creſcunt Divitiæ; tamen
Curtæ neſcio quid ſemper abeſt rei.

ſelves

ſelves off from the Advantages of Nature. Which are ſo much more valuable than the other, that *Diogenes*, who refus'd the large Preſent of Money offer'd by *Alexander*, deſir'd as a greater Favour, that he wou'd pleaſe to ſtand aſide, and not hinder him from the Comfort and Brightneſs of the warm Sun-ſhine.

CHAP. XXIV.

Hope and Deſpair.

THOSE Deſires which are Natural, and theſe Covetings laſt mention'd, which are Accidental, and Diſeaſes to the Soul, are cheriſh'd by *Hope*. This inſpires them with Warmth and Strength; this blows up our extravagant Imaginations with a gentle and pleaſing Breath; kindles a Fire in our Minds, but raiſes ſo thick a Smoak withal, that it quite blinds the Underſtanding; our Thoughts are loſt and bewilder'd, and violently carry'd away with it; it keeps us in perpetual Suſpenſe, and makes us dream with our Eyes waking. As long as ever our Hopes laſt, we never let go our Deſires. But on the other hand, when once *Deſpair* takes poſſeſſion of us, the Soul is perfectly put upon the Rack; and the Thought that we ſhall never be able to obtain what we aim at, is ſo torturing and violent, that it bears down all before it; and we loſe what we ſtand actually poſſeſt of, for the ſake of ſomewhat which we apprehend impoſſible to be poſſeſt. This Paſſion is like froward Children, who, when you take away one of their Play-things, throw the reſt into the Fire for Madneſs.

It

It grows angry with it ſelf, turns its own Executioner, and revenges its Misfortunes upon its own Head. It refuſes to live under Diſappointments and Croſſes, and chuſes rather not to be at all, than to be without the Thing which it hath once imagin'd neceſſary to its Happineſs. And thus you have had a ſhort Account of thoſe *Paſſions*, which have ſome *apparent Good* for their Object; we will proceed in the next place to conſider thoſe others, which ariſe from the Apprehenſion of *Evil*.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Anger.

Anger is a fooliſh and a frantick Paſſion, which puts us quite beſides our ſelves; and by ſeeking ſome means of beating back the Evil, that either approaches and threatens, or hath already reached and fallen upon us, makes the Blood boil in our Hearts, and raiſes wild and furious Vapours in our Mind; ſuch as blind and pervert our Reaſon, and thruſt us headlong upon any, tho' never ſo deſperate Attempts, that may contribute to the ſatisfying thoſe Deſires we have of taking Revenge, and doing Miſchief upon the Perſon that gave the Provocation. It is a ſhort Madneſs, and dangerous, not only for the time it continues, but as it prepares and opens the Way for a laſting Phrenſie and Diſtraction. The Motions of it are ſo ſudden, the Violence ſo ſtrong, that it overpowers all our other Paſſions, ſwallows them up quite, or carries them along with it by theforce of its own Torrent. 1. *Deſcription*

The

2. The *Cauſes* from whence it ariſes are various.
Its Cauſes. I. *Weakneſs of Judgment*, which is moſt remarkable in Women and Children, Aged and Sick People; whom Experience ſhews to be of all others moſt fretful and peeviſh, and eaſie to be provoked. * *Every thing that is infirm, is naturally diſpoſed to be querulous and froward.* It is a Miſtake as great as it is common, to imagine that Fierceneſs and Rage is an Argument of Courage: for all violent Motions are like the Efforts of old Men and Children, who run when they would walk, and go faſter, becauſe they have not Strength enough to go ſlow. There is not in the World any Thing ſo feeble as an irregular and unſteady Motion; and therefore *Anger*, which is ſuch in the Mind, is rather a Mark of Infirmity and Cowardiſe. It is a Diſtemper in the Soul, which makes it tender and ſore, not able to endure Offences; as Hurts and Wounds in the Body render the Smart of every little Blow intolerable. Were it in a State of perfect Health and Soundneſs, every Trifle cou'd not create ſo great a Diſorder. † *But when all is full of Aches and Diſeaſes, the gentleſt Touch is troubleſome*, and *it is always complaining, becauſe always ailing.* A Miſer will fume and ſtorm for the loſs of a Penny, for the miſſing of ſome Advantage which he might have gain'd; A jealous Husband will fall into a Rage for the moſt innocent Smile of his Wife, or the leaſt
II. Glance of her Eye. *Luxury* and *Niceneſs*, or any particular Fancy, that renders a Man Singular and Humorſom, and Uneaſie, is apt upon the leaſt Accident which croſſes that Humour, to put him into *Paſſion*; and || *No one thing* (ſays a great

* Invalidum omne naturâ querulum eſt.
† Nuſquam ſine querelâ ægra tanguntur.
|| Nulla res magis Iracundiam alit, quam Luxuria.

Phi-

Philoſopher) *cheriſhes Anger more than this vain Temper.* So again does the being fond of any little trifling Things, not worth our Affection and Concern: A Glaſs, a Dog, a Bird; This is a Folly that gives us a great deal of Trouble, and often expoſes us to moſt unreaſonable Paſſions; the leaſt of which is more than they can poſſibly deſerve. Another Cauſe is *Curioſity*, and a buſie inquiſitive Temper. * *He that asks too many Queſtions, is ſollicitous to diſquiet himſelf:* This is ſo far from avoiding, and conniving at, that it is ſeeking Occaſions, hunting about, and following the Scent, and with great Eagerneſs and Pleaſure running abroad after Provocations, without having the Patience to ſtay till They come home to Us. *Sometimes indeed* (ſays *Seneca*) *Anger comes to Us, but not near ſo often as We go to It.* Another is *Credulity* and *Eaſineſs*, the ſuffering our ſelves to be poſſeſt with the firſt Account, and the firſt Chance-comer, and not reſerving an Ear free for the other ſide of the Cauſe, nor ſuſpending our Belief, till more perfect Information. But the Principal, and indeed the very formal Cauſe of *Anger*, is *an Opinion that we have been undervalu'd, and ill us'd*; That ſome Word, ſome Look, (for any thing will ſerve) carried an Air of Contempt, and was leſs reſpectful than it ought to have been. This is always the Argument angry Men lay hold of in their own Juſtification. "And "no wonder then, that proud Men are moſt "Cholerick, and fuller of Reſentment than any "others, ſince no other Diſpoſition makes Men "think ſo much their Due, and conſequently in-"clines them to be ſo jealous of Affronts, and "Omiſſions in point of Reſpect. For which

III. IV. V. VI.

* Qui nimis inquirit, ſeipſum inquietat.

"Reaſon

Prov. xiii. 10. xxi. 24. "Reaſon the Scripture tells us, that *Only by Pride cometh Contention*, in one Place, and ſtiles it moſt "Emphatically *Proud Wrath* in another.

Signs of it. 3. The Signs and Symptoms of this Paſſion are many, and manifeſt, more and more viſible than thoſe of any other; and ſo Strange and Strong, that they make a mighty Difference in the Perſon, alter the whole Temper and Frame both of Body and Mind, transform and turn him into quite another Man. Inſomuch, that * *it is not eaſie to ſay, whether this Vice be more deteſtable, or more deformed and disfiguring*; Some of theſe Changes and Symptoms, are outward and apparent: Redneſs and Diſtortions of the Face, Fierineſs of the Eyes, a wild and enraged Look, Deafneſs and Inſenſibility in the Ears, Foaming at the Mouth, Palpitation of the Heart; Quickneſs and Unevenneſs of the Pulſe, Swelling and Burſting Fulneſs of the Veins, Stammering in the Tongue, Gnaſhing and Setting of the Teeth, Loudneſs and Hoarſneſs in the Voice, the Speech thick and indiſtinct; and in ſhort, The whole Body is ſet on Fire, and in a perfect Fever. Some have been tranſported to ſuch a Degree, upon theſe Occaſions, that their very Veins have broke, their Urine ſtopt, and they have dropt down dead, being ſtifled and ſtrangled with exceſs of Paſſion. And what Condition can we ſuppoſe their Mind muſt be in in the mean while, when the Diſorders of the Body are ſo violent and Diſmal? *Anger* at the firſt Bruſh, quite baniſhes *Reaſon* and confounds the Judgment; clears all before it, and takes poſſeſſion for it ſelf alone; and when it hath got it, then it fills all with Fire and Smoke, with Darkneſs and Confuſion, with Noiſe and Clamour; it is like a Robber, or an Enemy, that firſt drives the Maſter out of doors, and then ſets

* Ut ſit difficile, utrum magis deteſtabile vitium, aut deforme.

Fire

Fire to his Houſe, and that with ſuch Fury and Madneſs, as to deſtroy and burn it ſelf alive in the Flames. It is like a Ship that hath neither Rudder, nor Pilot; neither Sails, nor Oars, nor Ballaſt; but floats about at Random, and commits it ſelf to the Mercy of Winds and Waves; and that, when the Sea rides higheſt, and the Storms are loudeſt and moſt raging. And what can be expected in ſuch a Caſe, but Strandings and Shipwrecks, when there are ſo many Rocks on every ſide, to break her to Pieces, ſo many Quick-ſands to ſwallow her up, when ſhe thus lets her ſelf drive upon them?

This leads us to conſider its Effects, which are, indeed, very great, and, for the moſt part, exceedingly wretched and deplorable. 4. *Its Effects.*

I. For Firſt; *Anger* urges and expoſes us to *Injuſtice*; it takes Fire afreſh, and is render'd more violent and fierce, by any Oppoſition, tho' never ſo reaſonable and fair; and that too, not only by Diſpute from others, but even from a Man's own Senſes and Reflection, and the being conſcious to himſelf, that he is angry, either without any juſt Cauſe, or to a greater degree than the Provocation deſerved. When a Man hath thus ſuffer'd his *Reaſon* to be ſhaken and diſturbed, let one, with all the Calmneſs imaginable, offer the cleareſt Vindication, the juſteſt Excuſe, any thing to remove or mitigate this Paſſion, all is to no Purpoſe, or to worſe than none; for Truth and Innocence are ſtill but more enraging, as *Seneca* obſerves: In ſuch Caſes * *the Unreaſonableneſs of our Paſſion makes us ſo much more obſtinate and unperſuadable, as if the being very angry, and implacable, were the beſt Argument that the Ground of our Anger is juſt.* The Example of *Piſo* upon this Occaſion is well

* Pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas iræ, quaſi argumentum ſit juſtè iraſcendi, graviter iraſci.

worth our Obſervation, and the Story is generally known. He, who was in other Reſpects eminent for Virtue and Goodneſs, yet once in Heat of Paſſion put Three Perſons to Death unjuſtly; and ſtrain'd the Law to bring them in Guilty, only becauſe there had been one proved not Guilty, whom he by a former Sentence had adjudged Guilty. *Anger* is likewiſe exaſperated by *Silence* and *Coldneſs*, becauſe ſuch Indifference ſpeaks Scorn and Neglect; and when Men ſee their Reſentments make no Impreſſion, they look upon themſelves to be ſlighted and affronted. This is very uſual with Women, who oftentimes put themſelves into a Paſſion, purely for the Sake of putting other People into one too; And when they ſee that a Man does not condeſcend to be angry, and refuſe to heap on more Fewel, they take all imaginable Pains to cheriſh and blow up their own Fire, and grow perfectly out-ragious. So wild and ſavage a Beaſt is *Anger*, ſo fierce and intractable, that neither Vindications nor Submiſſions; neither Excuſing nor Acknowledging; neither Speaking nor holding one's Peace, can do any good upon it. No foul Means can tame, no fair ones win it over, or make it gentle. The Injuſtice of this Paſſion is farther evident, in that it always takes upon it ſelf to be both Party and Judge in the ſame Cauſe, in that it expects all manner of People that hear or know any thing of the Matter, ſhould take its Part, and juſtify its Proceedings; and takes it mortally ill, nay, flies in the very Faces of all that either ſtand neuter, or in any degree ſeem to think it in the wrong.

II. A Second Effect of this Paſſion is *Headineſs* and *Obſtinacy*, Raſhneſs and Inconſideration. It drives us forward, and thruſts us down head-long, into unſpeakable Miſchiefs; and very often draws upon our own Heads the very Calamities we are en-

endeavouring to avoid by being angry; the very ſame Sufferings, or many times worſe than thoſe, which We in the bitterneſs of our Malice and Revenge, are ſo eager to inflict upon others; and thus, while it puniſhes an Enemy, it tortures and executes it ſelf. This *Paſſion* is no ill Reſemblance of *Great Ruins*, which cruſh indeed, and batter whatever they fall upon, but in the ſame Fall, break themſelves to Pieces. *Anger* is ſo eagerly bent upon the Hurt and Deſtruction of others, that it fights out of all Guard, and takes no manner of Care to avoid or ward off its own Death. It draws us in, and hampers us in a Thouſand Inconveniences; puts us upon ſpeaking and doing many Things that are baſe and unworthy, ſuch as by no means become us, and what we cannot but be, at leaſt we ought to be, moſt heartily aſhamed of. To be ſhort; it tranſports Men to thoſe Exceſſes of Extravagance and Rage, that they know not what they do; enſnares them in the moſt injurious, the moſt ſcandalous Actions; hurries them into Miſchief incapable of any Reparation, Murders and Bloodſhed; Treachery and Villany, Poiſonings, and ſecret Aſſaſſinations. Things that leave long and laſting Remorſe behind, and ſuch as they cannot but have very afflicting Remembrance of ever after. *Alexander the Great* was a remarkable Inſtance of this kind; and *Pythagoras* uſed to ſay, that *where Anger ended, there Repentance always began.*

This *Paſſion* is never to be convinced of *Folly*; it is big, and always well ſatisfied with its own Diſcretion and Juſtice; flatters and pleaſes it ſelf with a Notion, that the Man does well and wiſely to be angry; clears it ſelf from all manner of Blame, and lays the whole Fault upon ſome ill or indiſcreet Thing done, that gave the Provocation. But, ſuppoſing another guilty of Injuſtice, it will 5.

not therefore follow, that my Anger is guilty of none. Suppoſe I receive Injury from another Hand, will my paying back the ſame, or a greater Wrong, take off what I ſuffer? Will it make me any real Amends, or bring any true Profit to me, that another ſuffers as well as I? The Truth is, *Anger* hath too much of Obſtinacy and hair-brain'd Giddineſs, ever to do any Good. It pretends to cure one Evil with another; and when we turn over an Offence to be corrected by this Paſſion, it is no better than ſetting Vice to chaſtiſe and puniſh it ſelf. *Reaſon*, which ought always to bear the Sword, and exerciſe the Supreme Authority in our Breaſts, does not deſire any ſuch hot-headed Officers to execute her Commands, as do Things upon their own Head, without waiting for Orders. *Reaſon*, like Nature, works eaſily and gradually, is ſedate and ſlow; and whatever is violent, is equally foreign, and contrary to both.

But you will ſay, What! muſt Virtue then be ſo tame and ſoft, as to ſee the Inſolencies of Vice Triumphant, without any degree of Indignation and Concern? Muſt ſhe be ſo bound up, as not to take the liberty of being angry, nor dare to make any Oppoſition againſt unreaſonable and wicked Men. To this I anſwer. *Virtue* hath its Freedoms, but they are ſuch as are juſt; it takes, it deſires none, that are unfit or unbecoming. It hath Courage too, but this Courage muſt not be employ'd againſt it ſelf. Nor muſt another Man's Ill be converted to its Prejudice and Diſturbance. A Wiſe Man is as much obliged to bear the Vices of Naughty People without Paſſion, as he is to ſee their Proſperity without Envy. The Indiſcretion of raſh and heady Men, muſt be endur'd with the ſame Patience and Pity that a good Phyſician exerciſes toward his Patients, when they are under the Ravings of a Fever. There is not

any

any one Inſtance of *Wiſdom* more commendable in it ſelf, nor more uſeful to the general Good of the World, than that of being able to bear with the Follies and Extravagances of other People. For if we do not ſo, the Conſequence will be, that we ſhall fall into the ſame Extravagances; and by not ſupporting Their Follies, we make them our Own.

What hath been ſpoken here at large of *Anger* in particular, is in great meaſure applicable to the *Paſſions* that follow; ſuch as *Hatred*, and *Envy*, and *Revenge*; for theſe are the ſame in Subſtance, and at the Bottom; They are Anger too, but they are ſomewhat otherwiſe modified, appearing in different Forms, and cloath'd with different Circumſtances.

Proper Advice *and* Remedies *againſt this* Paſſion, *will be treated of,* Book III. Chap. 31.

CHAP. XXVI.

Hatred.

Hatred is a very odd Paſſion. It gives us a great deal of unaccountable Vexation, contrary to all the Reaſon in the World. And yet, What is there more torturing and inſupportable, than this Reſentment? By It we put our ſelves perfectly under the Dominion of the Thing we hate; and give it a Power to afflict and torment us. The Sight of it diſturbs our Senſes, ruffles our Spirits, and makes the whole Body ſick and diſorder'd: The Remembrance of it raiſes a Storm in our Minds; and ſleeping or waking, fills us with Diſ-

quiet and Impatience. The Idea's of such Objects are always hideous and shocking; and we never entertain them without Indignation and Horror, Spight or Grief; some Resentment not easy to be express'd, which puts us beside our selves, and rends our very Heart asunder. Thus we feel in our own Persons, all that Torment we wish another, and undergo the Punishment we think due to Him. He that hateth, is, at this rate, the *Patient*, and he that is hated, the *Agent*. Thus it certainly is to all Intents and Purposes; excepting only, that we think fit to express it otherwise, and deceive our selves with Words, and Names of Things; For it is evident to common Sense, that the *Hater* is in Pain, and the *Person hated* in perfect Ease; perhaps too, in perfect Ignorance of the Matter. But, after all, let us consider and examine this Point a little. What is it that we hate? Men? or Things? Be it the one or the other, 'tis plain we do not pitch upon the right Object. For if any thing in the World deserves to be hated heartily, it is *Hatred it self*, and such other Passions, which, like this, breed Discords, and raise Tumults in our Minds, and rebel against that Power, which of right ought to command, and bear an absolute Sway in us. For when our Enemies have done all they can, still neither They, nor any Thing else, but such exorbitant Passions as these, can do us any real and effectual Injury.

For Particular Directions against this Evil, See Book III. Chap. 32.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Envy.

Envy is own Sister to *Hatred*; as like as Two Twins, in their Fierceneſs and miſerable Effects. This is a wild outragious Beaſt indeed, more exquiſite in Torture than Ten thouſand Racks; and of all, that wretched Mankind feels, beſt deſerves the Title of a Hell upon Earth. This lies perpetually corroding and tearing the Heart-ſtrings, and converts other Mens Happineſs into an Occaſion of our Miſery. And how dreadful, how inceſſant muſt that Vexation be, which both Good and Evil conſpire to aggravate? Of the many ill Effects this Paſſion hath, That is a very conſiderable one; That, while Envious Men look awry upon the Proſperity of others, and grudge them Their Comforts; they unavoidably ſuffer their Own to periſh, and ſlip thro' their Fingers; and have no Pleaſure or true Enjoyment in all that the moſt bountiful Providence does, or can, beſtow upon themſelves.

Directions *and* Remedies, *Proper for this* Evil; *will be preſcrib'd in* Book III. Chap. 33.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Jealouſy.

1. THE Nature and the Effects of *Jealouſy* have a mighty reſemblance to that Paſſion of *Envy* laſt deſcrib'd, excepting only that they differ in this one Circumſtance: The *Good* of other Men is the Object of our *Envy*; but our *own Happineſs* is the Object of *Jealouſy*. Some Good, which we are deſirous to ingroſs to our ſelves, and which we apprehend belongs to Us alone; for which reaſon we dread and deteſt the Communication to any Perſon beſide.

2. *Jealouſy* is a Diſeaſe of the Soul; an Argument of great Weakneſs; an evil and a fooliſh Diſeaſe, but withal a furious and terrible one: It rages and tyrannizes over the Mind; inſinuates it ſelf under the Pretence of extraordinary Friendſhip and Tenderneſs: But when it hath gotten Head, and taken Poſſeſſion, it builds a mortal Hatred upon the Foundation of Kindneſs. Vertue, and Health, and Beauty, and Deſert, and Reputation, which are the Attractives of our Love and Affection, are likewiſe the Motives and Incendiaries of this Paſſion; they kindle and miniſter freſh Fewel to both theſe Fires.

3. This is *Wormwood* and *Gall* to us: It depraves and embitters all the Sweets of Life; and commonly mingles it ſelf with our moſt delightful Enjoyments; and theſe it renders ſo ſower and unpleaſant, that nothing can be more uneaſy to us. It turns Love into Hatred, Reſpect into Diſdain, Aſſurance into Diſtruſt: It breeds a moſt unhappy Curioſity,

Curioſity; makes us buſie and inquiſitive to our own Ruin; deſirous and impatient to know what nothing but the Ignorance of, can keep us tolerably eaſie under; and what, when we do know, there is no Cure for, but ſuch as makes the Misfortune worſe, and more painful. For whither does all this Information tend, but only to bring the Matter out of Darkneſs and Doubt, into clear and open Day; to have Demonſtration of our own Unhappineſs, and to proclaim it to all the World; to make our ſelves a publick Jeſt, and to entail Shame and Diſhonour upon our Families?

Advice and Remedies againſt this Paſſion are to be met with in Book III. Chap. 35.

CHAP. XXIX.

Revenge.

THE Deſire of *Revenge* is, in the firſt place, a *cowardly* and *effeminate Paſſion*; an Argument of a weak and ſordid, a narrow and abject Soul; and accordingly Experience teaches us, that Women and Children, and ſuch others as have manifeſtly the feebleſt Minds, are ever the moſt malicious, and diſpos'd to Revenge. *Brave* and *Generous Minds* feel little of theſe Reſentments: they deſpiſe and ſcorn it; either becauſe an Injury, when done to them, does not make any great Impreſſion; or that the Perſon who does it, is not thought conſiderable enough to give them any Diſturbance; but ſo it is, that they feel themſelves above any Commotions of this kind, as the Poet ſays, 1.

* *A Wretch beneath the mighty* Cæſar's *notice.*

Hail, and Thunder, Hurricanes and Tempeſts, and Earthquakes, all theſe diſorderly Agitations, and loud Ratlings, which we ſee, and feel, and hear, are form'd in theſe lower Regions of the Air; They never diſcompoſe, or in any Degree affect the Heavenly Bodies and higher Orbs; All there is quiet, and conſtant, and ſerene; Theſe frail, and corruptible, and groſſer Bodies only are they that ſuffer by them. And thus it is with the Rage and Folly, the Noiſe and Brawlings, the Impudence and Impotent Malice of Fools: They never ſhake great Souls, nor carry ſo far as lofty and generous Minds: An *Alexander* or a *Cæſar*, an *Epaminondas* or a *Scipio*, cannot be mov'd by all that ſuch mean Wretches could do or ſay: for all truly Brave Men, and theſe in particular, have been ſo far from meditating *Revenge*, that, on the contrary, they were remarkable *for doing good to their Enemies.*

2. Secondly, This is a very troubleſome and *reſt-*
.1 *leſs Paſſion*, full of Heat, full of Smart and Sting; it boils and bubbles in the Breaſt, and gnaws the Heart like a Viper; diſtracts the Men infected, diſturbs their Enjoyments, takes off the Peace and Comfort of their Days, and breaks the Sleep of their Nights.

3. It is alſo a *Paſſion full of Injuſtice*; for it tortures an innocent Perſon, and adds Grief and Pain to him, that was wounded and afflicted before. It is properly the Party's Buſineſs who committed the Offence, to labour under the Remorſe and the Puniſhment; and all thoſe other Ill Con-

* Indignus Cæſaris Iræ.

ſequences

ſequences, which the Deſire of Revenge unavoidably draws after it. And yet by this, the Suffering and Guiltleſs Party makes it his Care to load himſelf with theſe heavy Burdens, as if the receiving of the Injury were not of it ſelf Affliction ſufficient, without ſuch voluntary and ſtudied Aggravations. Thus it happens frequently, (generally indeed) that, while the Innocent and Injur'd is racking himſelf with the impatient Deſires, and the Contrivance of proper Methods for Revenge, the guilty Aggreſſour enjoys himſelf in Eaſe and Pleaſure, and perhaps makes the Other's Uneaſineſs a Jeſt and a Diverſion. But This is only the Beginning of Miſchiefs and Injuſtice; for the Means of putting ſuch Deſires in execution are yet infinitely more ſo; which indeed are of all, of any kinds; Baſeneſs and Treachery, Perjury and Subordination, a ſecret Stab, or an Ambuſcade of Ruffians; in ſhort, the fouleſt, blackeſt, and moſt Villanous Deſigns: For one peculiar ill Effect of this Vice is, that it extinguiſhes all Natural Juſtice, breaks through all the Reſtraints of Honour and Duty, and ſticks at no Practice, tho' never ſo foul and deteſtable, to accompliſh its Bloody Intentions.

4. Laſtly. The very Execution of theſe Deſigns, is not only painful and difficult; but extremely dangerous: For Experience ſhews us daily, that he who endeavours to revenge himſelf, does not effect his whole Wiſh, nor is in every Point ſucceſsful: Either he meets with a Defeat, and cannot do the Miſchief he wou'd; or, at leaſt he is diſappointed as to his own Security and Satisfaction, and ſuffers the Miſchief he wou'd not. He attempts to put out One of his Enemy's Eyes, and at the ſame time puts out Both his own. He renders himſelf obnoxious to Juſtice, and brings Trouble and Danger to all his Friends; is loſt to the

the World, and to his own Quiet; forc'd to hide and flee from Place to Place, and is every where dogg'd cloſe at the Heels by his own guilty Fears.

5. And after all; the killing an Enemy, and diſpatching him out of the way, may be *Cruelty*; but it is not properly *Revenge*: For a Man does then only take Satisfaction and Revenge, when he humbles his Enemy, and forces him to Suffering and Submiſſion; not when he puts him paſt all Suffering, and out of the reach of his Anger; the rendring of which Senſible and Painful, is the only End Revenge can propoſe to it ſelf. Accordingly we ſee, no Man is ſo vain and abſurd, to fall foul upon a Stone, or a Brute; becauſe he knows theſe cannot feel, or cannot conſider the Effects of his Rage. In all true Revenge, it is neceſſary, that the Perſon who executes it, ſhou'd receive ſome Satisfaction in the Pains he inflicts; and that the Perſon, on whom it is inflicted, ſhould feel the Smart, and be humbled by the Sorrow, and pay ſo dear for the Injury he hath done, that he may be made to repent it. But a Man that is killed, is out of any condition of Grief or Repentance; he is indeed from thenceforth effectually ſecur'd from all manner of Suffering: Whereas, on the contrary, the Revenger himſelf continues in a Capacity of both, and oftentimes feels the Weight of his own Diſpleaſure, by a State of fix'd Sorrow and Fear ever after. *Killing* then is only a Betraying of our Cowardiſe. It is the Conſequence of our being afraid, that the Perſon we intend to puniſh, ſhou'd Reſent to our Prejudice, and take an opportunity of paying us again in our own Coin. We are willing from theſe Apprehenſions to make an End of him at once, and rid our ſelves from any future Hazard; which is indeed to quit our Point, to loſe the End of

Revenge

Revenge, and caſt a Blemiſh upon our own Reputation. It is an Artifice, and an act of Caution, rather than of Courage; It is an Intention to make ſure Work, and conſults our *Safety* much more than our * *Honour.*

* Qui occidit longè, non ulciſcitur, nec gloriam aſſequitur.

CHAP. XXX.

Cruelty.

Cruelty is a moſt horrid and deteſtable Vice, a Quality peculiar to Villains and Brutes; ſo contrary to Nature, that it is diſtinguiſh'd by that ſcandalous Name of *Inhumanity.*

It proceeds from, and indeed is the natural Effect of Baſeneſs and Cowardiſe: For *Valour* and *Generoſity* never exert their Power, except where they meet with Oppoſition. They have done their Buſineſs, and hold their hand, as ſoon as they find an Enemy ſubdu'd, and at their Mercy. This was the true Courage of brave old *Romans,* † *to humble the Obſtinate, and ſpare the Vanquiſh'd.*

But *Cowardiſe,* which affects a falſe Greatneſs, and pretends to Triumphs, which belong not to it, gluts it ſelf with Blood and Maſſacres, inſtead of Generous Conquering: And accordingly, we always find, that Carnage and Slaughter, have only Common Soldiers, and the Plundering part of the Army, for its Executioners. And no ſurer Sign in

---

† Romana Virtus— Parcere Subjectis, & debellare Superbos.

the

the World can be given of Men's being timorous Poultrons, than their being fierce and bloody, and void of Pity and Remorſe. This is the very Thing that diſpoſes Tyrants and Uſurpers to Cruelty; They live always in fear, and never think themſelves tolerably ſafe, till thoſe, that are in any condition of giving them Diſturbance, are utterly extirpated; and therefore they lay about them, and fall foul upon every Body, without diſtinction; neither Age nor Sex can move Compaſſion, or ſeem inconſiderable enough to be ſpared.

* *Laviſh of Blood the Coward kills; The Brave*
Holds his relenting hand, and dares to ſave.

Sneaking and timerous Dogs bite and tear to Pieces the Skins and Carkaſſes of wild Beaſts, which they run away from, when alive and in the Fields. And what Account can be given, why Civil Wars, and Popular Inſurrections ſhou'd ſpill more Blood than foreign Engagements? What more probable than This, that the great Ringleaders and Actors in Seditions and Domeſtick Differences, are the Mobb and Refuſe of the People; whereas the Other are begun and fought upon Principles of Honour and Juſtice, by fair and generous Enemies? When the Emperour *Mauritius* had receiv'd Information, that one *Phocas*, a Soldier in his Army, deſign'd to kill him, he enquir'd into the Temper and Character of the Man: And upon his Son in-Law *Philip*'s acquainting him, that he was a Cowardly Fellow, the Emperour preſently concluded, there was Danger indeed, and that ſuch a one was cut out for Barbarity and Murder. Sometimes, 'tis true, Another Cauſe may be given for this Quali-

* Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet.

ty,

ty, which is an inward Malignity and Spight; a Soul that rejoyces in Miſchief, and Feaſts upon Blood; ſuch as *Caligula* ſeems to have been particularly. But it is to be hoped, few ſuch Inſtances of Depravity are to be found; for indeed they are not Men, but Monſters in Humane Shape.

CHAP. XXXI.

Grief.

GRief is a Sinking and Deſpondency of the Mind, when dejected by an Opinion of ſome very great Evils lying heavy upon us. It is a very dangerous Enemy, deſtructive to our Quiet and Comfort; and, if good Care be not taken of it in time, waſtes and weakens the Soul, deprives us of the Uſe of our Reaſon, diſables us from diſcharging our Duties, and looking after her Buſineſs; and in time ſpreads a Ruſt upon the Soul, adulterates and depoſes the whole Man, binds up his Senſes, and lays his Virtues to ſleep, when there is moſt occaſion for rowzing and arming them againſt the Calamity, that ſubdues and oppreſſes him. In order to beget in us a becoming Averſion to this Paſſion, and employing our utmoſt Strength and Abilities to reſiſt and repel it, we ſhall do well to conſider ſeriouſly the pernicious Effects of it, and diſcover how fooliſh, how unbecoming and deformed it is; how extremely inconſiſtent with the Character of Wiſe Men, as the Philoſophy of the *Stoicks* moſt truly repreſents it. But This, as Matters are commonly order'd is no ſuch eaſie Undertaking; for it hath learnt to excuſe, and vindicate, and ſet it ſelf off under the

1. *Definition of it.*

the ſpecious Colours of Nature, and Affection, and Tenderneſs, and Goodneſs; nay, the Generality of the World are ſo far miſ-led, that they keep it in Countenance, pay it Honour and Reſpect, and think it a Duty and a Virtue; as if Wiſdom and Conſcience never appear'd more beautiful than in a Mourning-Dreſs.

2. *'Tis Unnatural.* Now in anſwer to theſe vain Pretences in its Favour, we may obſerve firſt of all, that This is ſo far from being agreeable to Nature, as it wou'd fain be thought, that, on the contrary, it is rather a Matter of Formality, and directly contrary to Nature: which it is very eaſie to demonſtrate, if Men will lay aſide the Prejudices of Cuſtom, and conſider it impartially. As for thoſe publick and ſolemn Mournings, (I mean not this to the prejudice of a real, decent, and affectionate Concern) but for the Mournings which are practis'd with ſo much Ceremony and Affectation, and were ſo by the Ancients heretofore, as well as by the Generality of Mankind at this Day; Where, I ſay, can we find a greater Cheat, a groſſer Sham and Banter upon the World? How many induſtrious Impoſtures and Hypocriſies? What artificial Conſtraints in our Behaviour are ſought, and counterfeited, both by the Perſons themſelves, who are intereſted in the Occaſion of them; and of all the reſt that are taken in, and bear a Part in this melancholy Pomp? And, as if all this were not enough, we refine and improve the Deceit, we even hire Men on purpoſe to put on this Folly, to ſtand as Mutes, or to make dreadful Lamentations; to move and heighten a Paſſion which ought to be ſuppreſt; to give Groans and Sighs for a Price, ſuch as we all know are feign'd and extorted; to ſhed Tears for the Entertainment of the Spectatours, ſuch as fall, only when they are ſeen to do ſo, and are immediately dry'd up, as ſoon as the Com-

Company retires. And, pray, Where does Nature teach us any thing like This? What can there be indeed more abſurd and vain; what does Nature condemn, what does it deteſt more than ſuch Inſincerity? This is nothing but Opinion and Faſhion, the Cauſe and Cheriſher of almoſt all our Paſſions; the Tyranny of Cuſtom, and vulgar Error, that inſtructs Men to indulge their Grief in ſuch a formal manner. From hence it is, that, if a Man be not deeply enough affected in his own Perſon, and cannot furniſh a ſufficient Proportion of Tears and hanging Looks out of his own Stock, he is thought oblig'd to hire and purchaſe a Supply from others who make a Trade of it. So that for the ſatisfying what the World calls *Decency*, we put our ſelves to vaſt Expence; which Nature, if we would take her Judgment, is ſo far from preſcribing, that She moſt freely acquits us of, nay, condemns us for it. Is not this, in Truth, a publick and ſtudy'd Affront upon Reaſon and Common Senſe, a Conſtraint, and a corrupting of Nature, a proſtituting and debauching of the Manhood in us, a mocking the World, and making a Jeſt of our ſelves; and that for no other purpoſe, but meerly to comply with the Notions of the abſurd Vulgar, which abound in nothing ſo much as Falſhood and Miſtake, and admire nothing ſo much as Counterfeit and Diſguiſe?

Nor are our Private Sorrows much better: For *Private.* Theſe, whatever they may ſeem, are no more Natural than the former. Did Nature inſpire or dictate them, they wou'd be common to all Mankind; they wou'd affect all Mankind almoſt equally; ſince All partake of the ſame Nature, and differ only in ſome few, ſome ſmall Circumſtances. But here we find very different Reſentments: The ſame Objects, which afflict and grieve ſome, are

Matter of Joy and Satisfaction to others; and what draws Tears and bitter Cries from one Perſon, and one Country, is receiv'd with great Chearfulneſs by another. What One does, Another diſapproves; and the Friends of Mourners think it their Duty to exhort, to comfort, to chide them, to beg that they wou'd recollect themſelves, call in *Reaſon* and *Religion* to their Aſſiſtance, be Men again, and dry up their Tears. Obſerve the greateſt part of Them who take Pains to afflict themſelves; hear what they ſay when you have given them this good Counſel; They will make no Difficulty to acknowledge, that it is a Folly and a Weakneſs, to be guilty of exceſſive Paſſions; they will commend and call thoſe happy, who can ſtand the Shock of Adverſity, and have ſo much Government of Temper, and ſuch Preſence of Mind, as to meet an Affliction bravely, and bear it ſteadily, and ſet a gallant and maſculine Spirit in Array againſt it. Thus they *excuſe*, but they dare not *juſtify* their own Concern; They ſay, they cannot help it, and by that Apology, lament, if not condemn, themſelves; for this implies they Wiſh, and think it were better, if they cou'd overcome their Grief. And, in Truth, the Thing is very plain in theſe private Mournings too, that Men do not ſo much ſute their Sorrows to their Sufferings, as to the received Notions of thoſe, among whom they dwell and converſe. And if we take a cloſe and nicer View, this will diſcover to us, that *Opinion* is at the bottom of all our immoderate Melancholy; That our Torment and Vexation proceeds from the falſe Repreſentations of Things; and that we grieve, either ſooner than we ought, by Anticipation, and Fear, and ſollicitous Apprehenſions of what will come hereafter; Which, like ſo many falſe Perſpectives, ſet the Object nearer our Sight, or elſe magnify the Bulk

Bulk of it to our Eye, and ſo make us grieve more than we ought, upon a Suppoſal of the Calamity being much greater than really it is.

But ſtill all This is contrary to Nature: For *Grief* deforms and defaces all thoſe Excellencies, which are moſt beautiful and lovely in us. Theſe all are blunted and melted down by this corroding Paſſion, like the Luſtre of a Pearl, diſſolv'd in Vinegar. And really we are then a miſerable Sight, our Head hanging down, our Eyes fixed upon the Ground, our Tongue ſpeechleſs, our Limbs ſtiff and motionleſs, our Looks wild and confuſed, our Ears deaf and inſenſible, our Minds void of all Attention and compoſed Thought. How diſtant is this from the Beauty, the Dignity, the Majeſty of our Original Form and Temper? Are theſe *Men?* You may better call them *walking Statues*, which only ſweat forth Moiſture at their Eyes; like *Niobe*, whom the Poets, to repreſent the Miſeries of exceſſive Grief, have feigned to be tranſform'd into a weeping Marble. 3. *Unnatural.*

But it were well, if this Paſſion, being Unnatural, were the worſt of it; I have a yet much more heinous Accuſation to charge it with; For it flies in the Face of God himſelf, and arraigns his Juſtice, and Wiſdom, and Providence. What better Conſtruction can any Man in Reaſon put upon our raſh Complaints, and outragious Paſſions, than a Mind diſcontented with the Great Governor of the Univerſe, and his Diſpoſals of Us, and our Affairs? To murmur and repine at what is done by Him, is to find Fault with Him who does it; and in an oblique, and little more reſpectful Way, to charge him with Folly or Hard-dealing. The Law and Condition, which he hath fixed to himſelf for the Government of the World, is, that all Things in theſe Sublunary Regions ſhall be changeable and inconſtant, ever in Motion, and 4. *Impious and Unjuſt.*

ſubject to Decays and Death. If then we know this to be their Condition, why do we afflict our ſelves for that, which is the common Fate of all here below; for that which could not be new, and ſhould not be a Surprize to us; what if we did not, yet we might, and ought to have expected? And if we did not know this, the trueſt and only reaſonable Matter for grieving, is our own moſt wretched Ignorance. Of a Truth, ſo evident, ſo uſeful, ſo neceſſary to be known; a Truth, that Nature hath graven every where, in Characters ſo large and legible, that it is impoſſible for us to go abroad, and not meet it, or to turn our Eyes any way at Home, and not read it. Others, our Selves, and Every thing carry this Inſcription. Alas! we miſtake our Poſt, and Quality. Man's Buſineſs here is not to give Laws, but to receive and ſubmit to them. The Adminiſtration of Affairs is lodged in higher and better Hands. The Order of the Univerſe is eſtabliſh'd; and We, who are but a very ſmall Part of this vaſt Body, muſt follow the Motions of the Whole, and take contentedly what falls to our Share. To fret and vex our ſelves, is to be concern'd, that Eternal Ordinances are not reverſed and diſſettled for our Sakes; that we are not made an Exception to all Created Nature; which, beſides the intolerable Arrogance and Impiety it is guilty of againſt God, is no leſs inſupportable Folly with reſpect to our ſelves; for it mends not the Matter one whit, but adds Weight to what Providence hath laid upon us already, and makes all our Sufferings double.

5. *Deſtructive.* For we muſt add too, that it is exceeding *deſtructive*, and of extreme ill Conſequence to Men; The Danger whereof is but the more increaſed, by its hurting us, under a Pretence of doing us Good. It flatters with falſe Hopes, and a fair Shew

Shew of Relief; but in reality aggravates the Misfortune; and while it profeſſes to draw the Weapon out of our Side, makes the Wound wider and deeper, and thruſts a Dagger into our Hearts. Beſides, theſe Thruſts are infinitely the more difficult to defend our ſelves againſt; becauſe it is a Domeſtick Enemy that gives them; One that we cannot run away from, One that is fed and cheriſhed within our own Boſoms, and which we our ſelves have bred up and given Birth to, merely to be a Vexation and a Puniſhment to us.

6. *Outwardly*

The Effects, indeed, of *Grief*, are univerſally miſchievous; they ſpread themſelves quite over the whole Man; and while they infect, do very much impair every Part of him. As to the External Appearance, it diſhonours, and is a Reproach to the Man, by that Deformity, and Change of Countenance, brought upon him by this means. Do but obſerve, when once Grief enters, how it fills Men with Shame and Confuſion, ſo that they dare no more ſhew themſelves in Publick, nay, ſo as to ſhun the Sight and Converſation even of their moſt intimate Friends, and particular Acquaintance. When once we are under the Dominion of this Paſſion, the Light it ſelf is offenſive, and our great Care is, to ſeek out ſome dark Corner, ſome cloſe Retreat, to crouch, and hide our ſelves in, far from the Eyes and Obſervation of every Body. Now what can be the Meaning of all This, but a plain unnatural Confeſſion of its own Indecency, and how much Men ought to be aſham'd of what they do at that time? Is not this evidently to condemn it ſelf? And would you not be apt to think, this was ſome Woman caught in Adultery, that runs away, and hides her Face, and takes ſuch Pains not to be ſeen or known?

Next to the Perſon, obſerve the *Habit*, what ſtrange, uncouth, effeminate Things, the Mourn-

ing Weeds are, as if our very Clothes were intended to publiſh to the World, that Grief utterly deſtroys, and takes away all that is manly and brave about us; and, in its room, gives us all the Softneſſes and Infirmities of Women. Accordingly the *Thracians* always dreſs'd Men, when they were in Mourning, in direct Womens Habit; and a certain Author obſerves, that Grief enervates Men, and waſts their Strength. The old *Roman* Laws, which were the moſt Noble and Maſculine (like the Spirits of thoſe that made and liv'd under them) ſtrictly prohibited all ſuch Effeminate Lamentations, and long indulg'd Sorrow. They thought very truly, that it was a horrible Abſurdity for Men to act in Contradiction to Nature and Reaſon, and thus Un-man themſelves. And all the Allowance they were content to make, was only for the firſt Guſh of Paſſion, while it was freſh, and tender, or ſurprizing; For there are Tears, that may be permitted to fall from the Eyes of Philoſophers themſelves. A Man may keep up the *Dignity* of his Nature, and yet not abandon the *Humanity* of it: This we are bound to preſerve, as well as not to debaſe the other; and therefore all that thoſe *Roman* Laws, and theſe Reflections aim at, is, ſo to temper and get the Maſtery over our Paſſion, that while the Tears fall from our Eyes, Virtue and Wiſdom may not fall from our Hearts, at the ſame time.

7. *Inwardly.* But the outward Fadings of the Beauty, diſfiguring the whole Man, and changing his Mien and Air, and Behaviour, ſo infinitely to Diſadvantage; no, nor yet that corroding Venom, which eats into our very Joints and Marrow, and, as the Wiſe Man expreſſes it, *drieth up the Bones*; theſe miſerable Effects, I ſay, upon the Body, are not all; It goes deeper yet; decays the Soul, breaks all its Reſt, confounds and diſturbs its Operations, diſ-

ables

ables and draws off the Man from any Virtuous or Honourable Deſigns; palls, and flats his Reliſh of Goodneſs, extinguiſhes the Deſire of Reputation, and takes away the Diſpoſition of doing worthily, either for himſelf, or for any Body elſe: Nay, it does not only unqualify him for the doing, but for the receiving Good from any other Hand. For even the moſt proſperous Occurrences are grown inſipid, or unpleaſant to him; and Every thing turns ſowre upon his Mind, as all kinds of Meat do upon diſtemper'd Stomachs. In ſhort, Grief embitters a Man's whole Life, and poiſons all his Actions.

8. *Diſtinguiſhed.*

It may be conſider'd with reſpect to the Degrees of it; and a Difference ought to be made between the Greatneſs and the Extremity of it; as there ſhould alſo between that which runs into Exceſs, and grows ungovernable altogether from it ſelf; and that which is puſhed on, and aggravated by the Suddenneſs of an Accident. In ſuch a Caſe, Surprize and Conſternation alarms, ſeizes, tranſports the Man; takes away all Motion and Senſe, ſtupifies and turns him into a Stone, like that wretched Mother *Niobe*,

* *Her curdled Blood, ran backward at the Sight,*
And pale numb'd Limbs, a ſhivering Horror took;
She ſtiffens into Statue with the Fright,
At laſt her faltering Tongue, long Silence broke.

And in theſe Caſes, great Allowance is to be made for Natural Affection; upon which account that Painter is admitted to have underſtood his Buſineſs well, who, when he was to draw *Iphigenia* going to be ſacrificed, repreſented the ſeveral Po-

* Diriguit viſu in medio, calor oſſa reliquit,
Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur.

ſtures and Countenances of her Mourning Friends, and more diſtant Relations, with great Curioſity, and Artifice; but when he came at laſt to her Father, he caſt a Veil over his Face. Thus wiſely covering that Sorrow, which no Pencil could ſufficiently expreſs. But *Grief*, as it often exceeds the Power of Art and Repreſentation in the Copy, ſo ſometimes it is too ſtrong for the Original; too grievous to be born, and kills the Man outright. This finds no Vent; But that which is moderate, or indeed, that which is very great, wears off by Tract of Time, by Diverſion, and Buſineſs, and other Avocations of the Mind; And that which helps This forward, is, that it expreſſes and eaſes it ſelf by Tears, and Sobs, and Sighs, and ſad Complaints; all which are ſome Mitigation to the Suffering Party, and much more comfortable than Inſenſibility and Silence.

* *Slight Sorrows find a Vent, and Words command; The Fierce boil inward, dumb and ſtupid ſtand.*

Directions *and* Helps *againſt this* Evil, *are given* Book III. Chap. 29.

---

* Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.

CHAP. XXXII.

Compaſſion.

WE mingle Sighs and Tears with thoſe that are in Affliction; we feel, in ſome Degree, their Misfortunes, and take Part in their Pains. Whether it be, from ſome ſecret Sympathies in Nature, whereby the Sentiments of one Man are conveyed to, and produce the like in another; or whether it be from ſad Preſages, by which we are apt to fear, that, whatever our Neighbours ſuffer now, may happen to be our own Caſe another Day.

Now, This (ſo far as it is Vicious) is the Paſſion of a Weak Mind; A Fooliſh Pity, that proceeds from too much Tenderneſs, and from an Indiſpoſition in the Soul, whereby it is apt to be vehemently diſordered, and fall into great Troubles upon ſlight Occaſions. Hence Women and Children are moſt affected with it; and ſo are the Cruel and Spightful too (who, as was ſaid before, are always cowardly and fearful:) for theſe, tho' they know nothing of that Noble and Generous Compaſſion, which is a Virtue; yet of this Vicious One, they have their Share. Such (for Inſtance) as expreſs mighty Concern for Villains and Malefactors, when they endure the Puniſhment of the Law, and ſmart for their Faults. Now, the Effects of ſuch a Pity are very Unjuſt, and ſo are the Cauſes of it too; for to ſpare the Guilty, is to injure, and endanger the Innocent; and all that Tenderneſs, proceeds only from ſuperficial Appearances, and want of Thought, which looks no

no farther than juſt the preſent Circumſtances of the Suffering Party, without any Regard at all had to the Merits of the Cauſe, and how Reaſonable it is, that ſuch Puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon him.

Concerning This, ſee more Book III. Chap. 30. *Where you have likewiſe the juſt Diſtinction, between the Virtuous, and Vicious Compaſſion; omitted here, to avoid Repetitions.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Fear.

1. *Deſcription of it.* FEAR is the Apprehenſion of ſome Evil to come, which ſtands over us, and keeps us perpetually in Awe; it fills us full of Anxious Thought, and very Officiouſly runs before, to give Notice of the Calamities, which Fortune threatens us with.

We are not ſpeaking at preſent, concerning that *Fear of God*, ſo highly recommended in Holy Scripture; ſo exceeding Uſeful and Neceſſary a Check upon Men's Minds, in Order to a Good Life: Nor is this Chapter to be underſtood, as if it related at all to that anxious and tender Concern, which proceeds from Affection and Duty; or ſuch as makes a Part of that Obedience and Reſpect, due from Inferiours, of all Sorts, to their Superiours; but only of that troubleſome, and tormenting Paſſion, which is the Spawn of Sin, and Shame, and a diſordered Mind. For theſe Terrours, entred the World, at the ſame Inſtant with Guilt, and Reproach; and are the wretched Off-Spring, of the Corruption of our Souls, and a ſecret Familiarity with the Devil. It was upon yielding to his wicked Sug-

Suggeſtions, that our General Anceſtor firſt diſcovered theſe miſgiving Horrors upon his Conſcience, *I was afraid, becauſe I was naked, and I hid my ſelf.* Gen. iii. 10.

It is a Paſſion full of Fraud and Malice; and, indeed, can never hurt, or gain Advantage over us, except when we are cheated, and ſeduced by it. It makes uſe of the Time to come, which we can have no manner of Inſight into; ſo throwing us into a Place of Darkneſs; and making the ſame Uſe of Futurity, which Thieves do of the Night; (which is, to compaſs their Deſigns undiſcover'd, and to ſcare and terrifie us much more, than the Occaſion requires.) When it hath got us there, it puts on a Thouſand ſeveral Vizors, and repreſents our Misfortunes under the moſt frightful and gaſtly Forms imaginable: Thus we are cheated again, as Children are with Fancies and Bugbears; and dread thoſe Evils in variety of Shapes, which can have in reality but one Face; Evils which have nothing in their own Nature, capable of doing us any Hurt; and ſuch as would not be Evils to us, if we did not call and believe them ſo. It is nothing elſe, but merely the Apprehenſion we have of things, which renders thoſe Accidents Evils, that in themſelves are no ſuch Matter. And This is ſo Powerful, and ſo Pernicious, that it turns our very Good into Evil, and from our Proſperity takes Occaſion to afflict, and make us Miſerable. How many Wretches, do we ſee every Day, Wretches of their own making? who actually become Unhappy for the very Dread of being ſo, and have improv'd their Empty Fears, into Solid and Subſtantial Miſeries? How many People have loſt their Friends, merely through Diſtruſt, and not daring to make Uſe of them? And how many have made themſelves ſick, with the very Terrors and Apprehenſions of Sickneſs? Here is a jealous

2. *The Malice and Tyranny of it.*

lous Coxcomb, that fancies his Wife hath played him Foul, and teazes himſelf into a Conſumption, till he pines and droops into his Grave, with this tormenting Suſpicion. Another anxious Fool is afraid of falling into Poverty, and he racks himſelf into a Diſeaſe; and dies, for Fear of not having enough to live upon. Nay, there are ſeveral, who have been kill'd with the very Fear of Death; and that you may not think this ſo very odd, let me obſerve to you, that ſomething like it happens every Day in moſt, if not in all the Objects of this Paſſion. Our *Fear*, generally ſerving to very little Purpoſe, otherwiſe than the drawing down upon our Heads, the very thing we pretend to run away from. Undoubtedly no Calamity whatſoever, is near ſo great, or grievous to be born, as the Fear of it. For other Evils can hurt us only while they have a Real Exiſtence, and are actually upon us; when the *Cauſe* is removed, the *Effect* and the Pain immediately ceaſe. But *Fear* is not ſo confin'd; it extends to Things that have no Being, as well as to ſuch as have; nay, to things which neither are, nor perhaps ever will be; and, that we may be aſſur'd, there is no End of its Extravagances, it fixes ſometimes upon things which we may be very confident never can be. So very ingenious is this Paſſion to torment us, ſo malicious and ſpightful, ſo mercileſs a Tyrant; it extracts real and cutting Pains out of Shadows; and refines upon Imaginary Evils, till it conſolidates, and makes them weighty ones: And for thoſe which miniſter ſome Ground for Fear, it is wonderful buſie, and troubleſomely officious; it takes Poſt, and brings us News, which it were better not to hear; for it creates imaginary, and anticipates all our actual Sufferings, by Opinion and Expectation.

Fear does not only fill us with dreadful Impreſſions, and oftentimes diſturb our Repoſe with falſe Alarms; but, which is worſe, it taints and deſtroys all our Happineſs, breaks in upon our Quiet, and checks all our Delights. No Man can be eaſie, or take pleaſure in the Enjoyment of a Bleſſing, which he is in perpetual fear of loſing. Life it ſelf cannot be a Satisfaction to a Man that lives in dread of Dying: And One of the Ancients hath obſerv'd very truly, That no Advantage can miniſter true Joy to us, which we have not ſuch a Maſtery of, as to be prepared to part with it, whenever Providence ſhall demand it back again. 3.

It is wonderful to obſerve the Folly and Imprudence of this Paſſion; for indeed it excels all others in Raſhneſs and Indiſcretion. It ariſes ſometimes from want of Courage, it is provoked by a Proſpect of Dangers; and yet it frequently doubles our Difficulties, and expoſes us to greater Dangers: For it makes us eager and impatient to deliver our ſelves from them; and thus it caſts us into Confuſions and Amazements, perplexes our Judgment, blinds our Underſtanding, and hinders us from diſcerning, and taking the proper Methods of getting out of the Labyrinths we are in. It diſtracts us with Terrours, and drives the Mind back again into it ſelf, where the Violence of its Paſſion interrupts the Debates, and overlooks thoſe very Opportunities of eſcaping, that offer themſelves. Add to this, the great Dejection and Diſcouragements, which will not let us dare to do what we ought, for our Safty; we loſe our Reaſon, and the Reſolution to uſe it; we flee when no Man purſues, ſtart and tremble at our own Shadow; nay, flee from that which is our beſt and only Sanctuary, run away from our Friends, and 4.

ap-

apprehend Deſtruction from them which advance to our Relief. * *Our very Succours ſtrike new Terror into us.* Some have been tranſported with this Paſſion, even to the degree of perfect Stupidity; the Senſes are put beſides themſelves, and loſe the power of diſcharging their Duty; our Eyes are broad open, and yet we ſee not; Men diſcourſe to us, and we hear not a Word they ſay; we attempt to run, and make our Eſcape, but ſtand fixt like Statues, and cannot move a Step.

5. This Paſſion, when moderate, adds Wings to our Feet; but when extreme, and in exceſs, it nails and faſtens us down, or entangles and confounds us in our Flight. Thus *Fear* ſupplants our Natural Powers, depraves and diſables the whole Man, enfeebles Body and Mind, baffles our wiſeſt Deſigns, and baniſhes Thought.

|| *Amazement bore up my erected Hair;*
Nor cou'd my ſtammering Tongue expreſs my Fear.

Sometimes it makes Men deſperate; and ſo, that the giving all for loſt is for their great Advantage; for it inſpires them with Reſolutions of ſelling their Lives as dear as they can, and puts them upon doing Wonders. An Inſtance whereof we have in that *Roman* Legion commanded by *Sempronius*, in their Engagement againſt *Hannibal.*

---

* Adeo etiam auxilia pavor formidat.

|| Obſtupui, ſteteruntq; comæ, vox faucibus hæſit.

† *Deſpair*

† *Deſpair and Rage broke thro' th' extreme Diſtreſs;*
Cou'd they have hop'd, their Safety had been leſs.

There are alſo ſome Fears and Terrors, with which Men have been ſtrangely poſſeſſed without any viſible ground; as if they were Thunder-ſtruck from above; or God by a particular Providence had determin'd to infatuate and diſpirit them, in order to their Deſtruction. Theſe ſudden Amazements are what we commonly call *Panick Fears*; and we read, that the City of *Carthage* was once thus ſeiz'd with Confuſion; for ſuch are not always confin'd to ſingle Perſons, or ſmall Numbers; but whole Nations and vaſt Armies have been univerſally ſeiz'd, and unaccountably ſtruck with them. And our Bleſſed Saviour inſtances in this, as one of the Judgments ſent from Heaven upon the wicked *Jews*. *Men's Hearts failing them for Fear.* Luke xxi.

Particular Directions *and* Remedies *againſt this* Paſſion, *will be given in*. Book III. Chap. 28.

† Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem. *Virg. En.* 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Second Way of conſidering Man; which is, by ſtating the Compariſon between Him, and other Animals.

A uſeful but difficult Compariſon, ſuch as Man is partial in.

1. HItherto we have conſider'd *Man* entire, and with regard to *Himſelf* alone: The next Step, by which we propoſe to advance in the Knowledge of him, is by ſtating a Compariſon between Him and other Animals; and This is a very excellent help toward making a right Judgment in the Caſe. Now this Compariſon is of large extent; it conſiſts of many Branches, requires great Skill, and wou'd prove of mighty Benefit and Conſequence, if well and truly made: But the Queſtion is, Who muſt make it? Shall Man? He is a Party in the Cauſe, and liable to very juſt Exception; for it is much to be fear'd, when the *Iſſue* is his own Concern, the *Verdict* will not be honeſt. And accordingly we ſee, how partial and unfair he is in all he ſays of Himſelf; for he knows no Mean, he proceeds with no Moderation, but is eternally in Extremes. Sometimes he is big, and pleas'd with Himſelf; looks down upon the lower World with Diſdain; and calls himſelf the *Lord of all the Creatures*; divides their Morſels among them, and cuts out for each Species, ſuch a Proportion of Faculties, and natural Power, as his Lordſhip vouchſafes to allow them: At other times, inſtead of all his Gaiety and Pride, you find him full of black Diſcontent and then he debaſes himſelf as much, murmurs and frets, grumbles

bles and complains, gives Providence hard Words, and calls Nature a cruel Step-mother, that hath made him the Refuſe of the World, the moſt wretched of all her Productions; and dealt to Him the leaſt and loweſt Portion of all her Children. Now, in truth, both the one and the other of theſe Opinions are equally falſe, unreaſonable, and extravagant. But what can we expect better from him? Or how is it to be thought, he ſhou'd carry himſelf evenly and fairly, and act juſtly with other Creatures, when he is, as we ſhall ſhortly ſee, ſo infinitely out of all meaſure, in his Notions towards God, his Superior; and Man, who is his Equal? But, beſides this Byaſs upon his *Judgment*, there is another Difficulty upon his *Underſtanding*: For which way ſhall he get a competent Knowledge of the inward Powers, and unſeen Motions of other Animals? So that if he were inclin'd to be Juſt, and to hear the Evidence impartially, yet he muſt needs be an improper Judge, to whom the moſt material Part upon which the Sentence ought to be grounded, cannot be given in Evidence. And ſuch are thoſe inward Operations of Brutes, which we can have no certain or competent Perception of. However, we will try at preſent to ſtate this Compariſon as evenly and calmly as we can poſſibly.

Now, Firſt, we are to conſider, that the Order and Conſtitution of the Univerſe is not vaſtly unequal; There are no great Irregularities, nor large void Spaces in it; nor ſuch Unlikeneſs and wide Diſproportion between the ſeveral Parts that go into this Compoſition, as ſome People may imagine. The Excellencies of the ſeveral Species riſe and fall gradually; And thoſe, whom Nature hath placed near, or cloſe to one another, have all of them a mutual Reſemblance; tho'

ſome have more, and ſome have leſs of it. And thus we may obſerve a near Neighbourhood, and cloſe Affinity between Mankind and other Animals. They are a-kin in many Things, and ſeveral Properties are alike and common to both. Several Things indeed there are, wherein they differ; but theſe are not ſo vaſtly diſproportionate and diſtant, but that they ſtill are next adjoyning Links, twiſted within one another, in the great Chain of the Univerſe. So that Man is neither in all reſpects ſuperior, nor inferior in all. *For that which befalleth the Sons of Men, befalleth Beaſts; even one thing befalleth them both;* ſays the *Wiſdom* of God himſelf. (*Eccleſ.* iii. 19.)

3. We will begin with thoſe Things which are common to both, and very near the Matter of being alike in both; ſuch as *Generation, Nutrition, Motion, Action, Life* and *Death*. For (ſays the ſame Divine *Wiſdom*) *As the one dieth, ſo doth the other; ſo that a Man* (in this reſpect) *hath no Pre-eminence above a Beaſt*. And This is a Confutation of thoſe fooliſh repining People, and all their melancholy Complaints, that repreſent Man, as the only Creature, whom Nature hath diſcountenanc'd and diſgrac'd, abandon'd and forſaken; turn'd naked into the wide World, and caſt upon the bare Ground; without any Covering, without any Natural Weapons to ſhelter or defend him; bound up, and ſwaddel'd; and utterly ignorant and unfurniſh'd of what is fit for him: Whereas to all Others ſhe hath been much more bountiful; Clothed them with Shells, or Hair, or Wool, or Shag, or Feathers, or Scales; Armed them with Tusks, or Horns, with Bills, or Claws, or Talons, to act offenſively or defenſively, as occaſion requires; qualify'd them, without any Help of Art or Induſtry, for Swimming, Running, Flying, Singing, Looking out for Food, and Suſtaining themſelves. But *Man*, poor neglected

neglected Man, (they tell you) is Taught to Go, Taught to Speak; nay, requires Help and Teaching for the very Feeding and Supporting himſelf, and attains to nothing without Time and Trouble, and ſerving an Apprenticeſhip. In ſhort; He is perfect in no other Inſtance of Nature's Teaching, except that of Crying: This is all we bring into the World along with us; and a very fit Emblem it is of our Fortune and Condition. Now all theſe melancholy Complaints, which make diſadvantageous Reflections upon the Original Compoſition of Mankind, and that which is truly the State of Nature; are altogether unjuſt and falſe. For firſt, our Skin is ſufficiently fortify'd againſt all the Injuries of Weather; and ſo *Nakedneſs* is no Argument of our being leſs Nature's Care, than any other Creature. Several Nations, (as I have obſerv'd heretofore) never yet ſo much as knew what Clothes are; and even We that do, can go bare in any Parts, even the tendereſt and moſt ſenſible; when Inclination, or Cuſtom, or ſome particular Faſhion, diſpoſe us to it. For where of all our Body is the Senſe quicker, than in the Face, the Hands, the Stomach? And yet what Lady, even the niceſt and tendereſt of her Sex, ſcruples to expoſe her Neck and Breaſts, (when the Mode requires that Dreſs) even in the Extremity of Winter? Swathes and Rollers may be convenient, but tis plain they are not neceſſary in Children; for the *Lacedæmonians* heretofore made no uſe of them; nor do the *Swiſſes* and *Germans* that dwell in cold Countries; nor *Biſcans*, nor thoſe Vagabonds and Common Cheats, that go by the Name of *Gypſies*, uſe them at this Day. *Weeping* is by no means peculiar to Mankind; Beaſts have likewiſe their Share in it: Some of them ſhed Tears; and much the greateſt Part of them Cry, and Complain, and Bemoan

1. *Nakedneſs.* Chap. XIV

2. *Swadling Clothes.*

3. *Weeping.*

themſelves continually, for ſome time after their
4. *Weapons.* coming into the World. As for *Weapons*, Nature hath not been wanting in her Proviſion for Us too; and ſhe hath given us beſides, greater Opportunities of uſing them; For the Muſcles and Motions of our Limbs are more in Number, and of a more uſeful Variety; and Theſe too we are capable of receiving greater Service from, without any Inſtruction at all, than any other Animal whatſoever: Or if ſome few are better provided in this reſpect, we have the Advantage of many others. Nor do we need any Teaching in
5. *Eating.* point of *Eating*; We and They are equally fitted, equally dextrous and ready at it by Nature: Who makes any Queſtion, but a Child wou'd look out ſharp for Meat, aſſoon as he is ſtrong enough to feed himſelf? And Meat the Earth produces for our Purpoſe; there wants neither Quantity nor Variety to ſupply our Neceſſities, whether we improve it by Art and Labour, or not: Of which ſeveral Nations are a Proof, who live in great Plenty, without contributing any Tillage, or Care, or Induſtry of their own,
6. *Speech.* toward their Subſiſtence. As for *Speaking*, allowing that to be the Effect of Art, and not of Nature; yet it is certain too, that if it be not natural, it is not neceſſary neither. But yet This may be reckon'd among thoſe Things that are given in common to Men and Beaſts both: For what other Name but *Speaking* can we give to that Faculty of expreſſing themſelves, which we ſee they have upon all Occaſions; thoſe Significations of Pain, and Grief, and Joy; the Methods of Summoning one another together, and asking mutual Succours; their Arts of Courtſhip and Flattery, and making Love? And as We ſometimes ſpeak by ſome particular Geſtures, the Motions of our Eyes, or Head, or Hands, or Shoulders; (Arts

in

in which Dumb People are exquiſitely perfect, and practiſe even to Aſtoniſhment) ſo do Beaſts likewiſe converſe with one another: And even Thoſe of them that have no Voice at all, maintain an Intercourſe of Good Offices, and ask and return them as Occaſion ſerves. As Beaſts underſtand Us in ſome degree, ſo do We in part underſtand Them: They flatter and ſooth us; they threaten and give us warning; they call, intreat, and expreſs their Want of our Help: We ſpeak to Them, and They to Us after their manner; and if we underſtand but imperfectly, whoſe Fault is it? Theirs or Ours? This is what none of us can certainly tell, and ſomewhat may be ſaid for either Side. They, for ought we know, may think as meanly of Us upon this Account, as We commonly do of them. * But in this however they are a Reproach to us, that in the preſent Condition of Humane Nature, we do not underſtand one another. Our almoſt next Neighbours, remoter Provinces in the very ſame Country, have Dialects ſo different, that they do not comprehend each other at all; Whereas They are all perfectly well acquainted with the Idioms, Note.

Note. * "*Here we have juſt Occaſion to make a Diſtinction which* "*I ſhall ſhew to be neceſſary,* Chap. XXXVII *between Defects Na-* "*tural and Accidental: For of the Latter ſort is That of Men's* "*being unintelligible to each other; This Confuſion of Languages* "*having been no Part of our Original Condition: For we have in-* "*fallible Aſſurance, that the whole Earth was once of one Speech.* "*So that what was inflicted as a Puniſhment for a Crime, (as This* "*is expreſly affirm'd to be,* Gen. XI.) *cannot in any fair Reaſoning,* "*make a Branch of the Compariſon, between the Nature of Man, and* "*that of Brutes. Nor, indeed, even in this Condition, (thus de-* "*baſed and puniſhed as we ſtand) will the exquiſite Eaſineſs of* "*expreſſing Our Thoughts, and the wonderful Powers of Humane* "*Voice, endure to be compared with the wild and inarticulate* "*Sounds of any Brutes whatſoever, tho' moſt excellent in their* "*kind.* See Chapter of Weakneſs.

not only of their own Kind all the World over; but (which is a great deal more) with thoſe of Kinds different from their own. The Horſe knows how to diſtinguiſh the Barkings of a Dog; that one ſort of Tone imports Miſchief, and Danger, and a malicious Deſign; and that another is innocent and ſafe, and intends him no Hurt at all. Nay, I add, that they do not only maintain a Correſpondence among Themſelves, but with Us alſo. In Wars and Engagements, Elephants, Dogs, Horſes, underſtand as well as We: They conform all their Motions to the Word of Command; They Run, or they Stand ſtill; they March, or they Halt; they Purſue, or they Flée; they Charge, or they Retreat, as we wou'd have them; They receive Pay and Subſiſtence; they have a Part in the Victory, and a Share in the Booty; as we ſee particularly they had in the late Conqueſt of the *Indies*. And thus much may ſuffice to be obſerv'd concerning thoſe Things which Nature hath diſtributed both to Men and Beaſts in common; and that with ſo even a Hand, that there is no great Diſparity on either ſide.

7. Mutual Correſpondence.

4. *Differences and Advantages.*

The Particulars wherein theſe two differ, and have the Advantage of one another, come next under our Obſervation. Now Some there are, in which Man does manifeſtly excel, and no Animals whatſoever can pretend to equal, or to be like them; and Others again there are, in which Beaſts have the upper-hand of Us. The Divine Wiſdom ſo ordering the Matter, that the ſeveral Parts of the Creation ſhould be ſo nicely interwoven, ſo cloſely connected, that Each ſhould have ſome Pre-eminence peculiar to it ſelf; and from All together, ſhou'd reſult the perfect Harmony, and uninterrupted Order, of One moſt compact and beautiful Whole. The plain and indiſputable Privileges of Man, are the Noble Faculties of his Soul;

On Man's ſide.

Soul; The Penetration, Sprightlineſs, and Comprehenſion of his Mind, exerted in the Fruitfulneſs of his Invention; the Subtlety and Solidity of his Judgment; the deliberate Determination of his Choice; Speech to communicate his Thoughts freely, to make known his Wants, to ask and to offer Aſſiſtance; the Hand, a ready Inſtrument to execute whatever his own Invention ſhall ſuggeſt, or the Inſtructions of others ſhall dictate, or their Performances preſcribe for his Imitation; The Majeſtick Form of his Body; the great Variety of Movements he is qualify'd for; from whence it comes to paſs, that his Body, and the ſeveral Parts of it, are much more ſerviceable to Him, than thoſe of any Creatures elſe can be to Them.

5. *Advantages of Beaſts.*

But ſtill Beaſts have Their Advantages too, as evident and unqueſtionable as Ours; and of thoſe ſome are General, and others Particular: The General are theſe; Health, which in Them is much more confirm'd, and leſs interrupted, than it ever is in Men; their Conſtitutions more robuſt; their Natural Defects and Imperfections very rarely to be obſerv'd. Whereas Men are weak and tender, eaſily diſeas'd; blind, and lame, and deaf oftentimes from the Birth. The open Air never does them Injury; They are ſubject to no Rheums, or dangerous Colds, with which moſt of our acuteſt Diſtempers begin, and many of them have no other Cauſe; Moderation in their Deſires and Actions, which are bounded by Covenience, Innocence, and Security; perfect Eaſe and Tranquillity; for this muſt needs attend a Life void of all Fear and Guilt; Full Liberty and Confidence in Matters that are Natural and Lawful, without any Reſtraints of Shame, or Fear of Diſcovery; A total Exemption from infinite Vices and Exorbitances; no Superſtition to enſlave them; no

General.

Ambition, or Avarice, or Envy, to diſturb, to torment them; no uneaſy Fancies, and affrighting Dreams to afflict and confound them: Theſe are the Portion of all Animals in common.

Particular. Of thoſe that are Particular to ſome ſorts only,

I. We may reckon the pure, clear, wholſome, lofty, delightful Dwelling, which the Birds enjoy, by having the Regions of the Air aſſign'd them.

II. The wonderful Perfection they attain to in ſome Arts: For what Art or Labour, even of the moſt celebrated and accompliſh'd Maſters, cou'd ever pretend to compare with the *Swallows*, and ſome other Birds, in Building; or with the *Spider* in Spinning and Weaving; or with the *Nightingale* in Muſick; or with ſome other Creatures in

III. Knowledge of Plants and Phyſick? Some aſtoniſhing Effects, and peculiar Properties, that are inimitable, unaccountable, nay, incredible: Such as that of the Fiſh call'd *Remora*, becauſe, tho' ſmall it ſelf in Compariſon, yet it ſtops the largeſt Ships in their Courſe: Inſtances of which Hiſtory gives us, in the Veſſel that rode Admiral of *Mark Anthony*'s and *Caligula*'s Fleet: That of the *Cramp-Fiſh*, which benumbs People's Limbs at ſome diſtance, and tho' they never touch him: That of the *Hedge-hog*, which hath a Fore-knowledge of the Winds: And that of the *Cameleon* and *Polypus*, in changing Colours, and taking a freſh Tincture, according to the Things they reſt upon.

IV. Their ſtrange Prognoſtications; of Birds, for Inſtance, in their leaving one Country, and going into another, according as the Weather, and Seaſons of the Year change: That of all Beaſts that are Dams, in knowing which of all their Young will prove the beſt; for when they are driven to Straits, and put upon preſerving them from Danger, they conſtantly ſave the beſt firſt. In all theſe Reſpects Man is much inferior to Beaſts; and

and in ſome he is ſo far from being equal, or near, that he is in no Degree like them. To all which might be added, That other Advantage, which conſiſts in the length of their Lives; the Term of ſome Animals, in the ordinary Courſe of Nature, extending to a Number of Years, Seven or Eight Times as much as that of Man.

6. *Advantages that may be diſputed.*

The Advantages, which Man lays claim to above Brutes, but which will admit of ſome Diſpute, and perhaps, upon a ſtricter Examination, would tempt an Impartial Judge, to give it on the other ſide, are ſeveral. Firſt, The *Reaſonable* and *Intellectual Faculties* of his Mind; the Power of comparing, conſidering, arguing, collecting; Learning, and Improvement; Judgment and Conduct. Now Two Objections may be offered in Bar to this Claim; the One relating to the Thing it ſelf; the Other to the real Worth, and Benefits of it. Firſt, It is not out of all Diſpute, whether the Matter of Fact, ſet forth in this Claim, be True; that is, whether Men have theſe Excellencies peculiar to themſelves. It hath ever been, and ever will be, a Point in Controverſie, whether Brutes have none of theſe Spiritual Powers; and that Opinion, which holds the Affirmative, and maintains they have, is ſupported with greateſt Authorities, and ſeems to carry a greater Appearance of Truth. The moſt Celebrated and Learned Philoſophers have declared for it; No leſs than *Ariſtotle*, and *Galen*, and *Porphyry*, and *Plutarch*, *Democritus* and *Anaxagoras*. The Reaſon, upon which they ground that Aſſertion, is this; That the *Brain* is the Particular Organ, the part of the Body, employed by the Soul, in the Acts of Ratiocination; and that the Compoſition of the Brain, is exactly the ſame in Brutes, as it is in Men; and from hence they conclude, that the Inſtrument of Reaſon, is as apt and capable in one of theſe Creatures, as it is in the other.

I. *Reaſoning. Qu. Whether Brutes partake of it.*

other. The Difficulty then will be, whether the Souls be equally capable, of uſing this Inſtrument to ſuch Purpoſes; and for This, they offer Experience; That Brutes conclude *Univerſals* from *Singulars*; as, from the Sight and Form of One Man, to know the ſame Humane Form in All Men; That they are able to compound, and to divide Idea's, by aſſenting and refuſing; and that they exerciſe a Power of Choice, and make very ſubtile Diſtinctions between *Good* and *Evil*, in ſuch Caſes as concern the Life, the Liberty, and Preſervation of Themſelves, and their Young. Nay, they pretend, that any Man, who obſerves with Attention, may read and diſcover ſeveral Strokes and Footſteps of *Reaſon*, more Bold, more Judicious, more Nice, more Ingenious and Cunning, than the common ſort of Men are uſed to give us Proof of. Some of the moſt memorable Actions, from whence this Concluſion hath been made, I will briefly recite. The *Fox* deſigning to paſs over a River, when it is frozen, lays his Ear cloſe to the Ice, to hearken if there be any Noiſe, and whether the Water run underneath; that from thence he may form a Judgment, whether it be Safe to proceed, or Neceſſary to retire. And this Expedient the *Thracians* are ſaid to make uſe of, when they have any frozen Rivers to paſs. The Hound, in Doubt which Way his Maſter, or the Game he is in chaſe of, went, at a Place where Three Paths meet, takes this Courſe of making out his Loſs; he ſcents the ſeveral Paths, one after another, and when he finds that in Two of theſe Ways, no Scent hath lain; he never troubles himſelf to lay his Noſe to the Third; but ſprings forward, and takes That without farther Enquiry. *Thales* the Philoſopher's Mule, when heavy loaden with a Sack of Salt, and being to go over a Brook, ſtoop'd down to diſſolve his Salt, and ſo make his Burthen lighter; becauſe

he

he had found once before, that the Salt was lighter, when it fell into the Water by chance: but when loaden with Wooll, he did the direct contrary, and ſtrove to keep it dry; becauſe the like Experiment had taught him, that Wooll grows heavier by being wetted. *Plutarch* ſays, That once on board a Ship, he ſaw a Dog caſting Stones into a great Jar, that ſo he might make the Oil in it riſe higher; which before was too low, and out of his reach: And the like is reported of the Crows in *Barbary*, when the Water is too low for them, to drink at. Thus *Elephants*, when one of them is ſet faſt in a Bog, are ſaid to bring great Stones, and pieces of Timber, to help their Fellows out. The *Oxen* in the King's Gardens at *Suza*, which have been long practiſed to turn a Wheel a Hundred Times Round, (the Depth of the Well requiring juſt ſo much, from whence Water is drawn, for the Uſe of the Gardens) cannot be made to exceed that Number of Rounds; and when left to themſelves, never come One turn ſhort. Now what Way are all theſe Things poſſible to be done, without Reaſoning and Diſcourſe; Compoſition and Diviſion, which are the Operations proper to a Rational Soul? Muſt not a Man be thought to want Reaſon himſelf, who thinks it hath nothing to do in ſuch Actions? So again; The marvellous Dexterity of drawing Darts and Spears out of wounded Bodies, with very little Pain to the Patient, for which Elephants are Famous. The Dog mentioned by *Plutarch*, that at a Publick Entertainment, lay upon a Scaffold, and counterfeited himſelf dead; fainting away by degrees, breathing ſhort, trembling, ſtretching himſelf out, and letting them drag him about as quite dead; then by degrees coming to himſelf again, lifting up his Head, as if he had juſt been brought to Life: And in a Word, the many Strange, Apiſh Tricks

that

that Jugglers and Strowlers teach their Dogs, and Dancing-Horſes. The many Doubles, and cunning Contrivances, that Beaſts of ſeveral kinds have, to ſecure themſelves from the Attempts we make upon them; The great Forecaſt, and wiſe Management of the *Ants*, in drawing out their Grains of Corn to ſweeten in the Air, and dry by the Sun, which would otherwiſe corrupt, and grow muſty: The nibbling off the End of every Grain, which would elſe be grown, and run to Seed: The Order of the *Bees*, in their Republick; the Method of their Combs; the vaſt variety of Offices and Duties appropriated to ſuch and ſuch reſpectively; and the conſtant Regularity and Uniformity of all their Proceedings, will not ſuffer us to think, that theſe are no more than animated *Clock-Work*; but ſeem in many Things to equal, and in ſome even to reproach the Conduct of Mankind.

7. *Natural Inſtinct, rejected.* In Order to overthrow all This, ſome have been very Ill-natur'd to theſe Brutes, and take Sanctuary in *Natural Inſtinct*, as a ſufficient Solution, and Cauſe of all theſe wondrous Effects; And This they deſcribe by an Inclination in Nature, which is under as perpetual Neceſſity, Slavery, and Conſtraint; as That by which the Stone falls, or the Flame aſcends. Now Firſt, This is ſo far from Truth, that one would wonder, how it could ever enter into any Man's Head: For the forementioned Acts, plainly infer reckoning and ſumming up Particulars, comparing of Things together, and reaſoning by Compoſition and Diviſion of Idea's, and by Conſequences drawn from thence. But theſe are ſuch Operations as can never be performed by ſuch a Natural Inclination, and Neceſſary Inſtinct, which are only the Refuge of Men, who want ſomething to ſay. But then it muſt be obſerv'd withal, that this Objection returns back again, upon them that make it. For

it

it is, without doubt, more Noble, more for the Honour of any Creature, and a nearer Reſemblance to God himſelf, to do Well by a happy and unalterable Determination of one's Nature; than to do ſo by Art and Induſtry, long Time, and much Learning; To be led by the Unerring Hand of God, than left to our own imprudent Conduct; and to act Regularly, by an Habitual, and Conſtant, and Neceſſary Impulſe; than by ſuch a Choice and Liberty, as is ſubject to Hazard and Raſhneſs. Beſides, by this Notion of Natural Inſtinct, they take away from Brutes all manner of Inſtruction, and Improvement, as well that which they receive from others, as that which they impart to others; but This is abundantly contradicted and confuted by Experience. For it is plain, They learn what they knew not before, and grow more Perfect by Degrees, and Imitation, and Cuſtom; as *Magpyes*, for Inſtance, *Parrots*, *Jack-Daws*, and *Dogs*; and it is as plain, that they teach one another too, from the Examples of *Nightingales* and eſpecially of *Elephants*, who of all Animals are the apteſt to learn, and ſeem to exceed the reſt by far, both in Largeneſs of Capacity, and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion. *See the Advertiſement.*

8. As for that Power of the Reaſoning Soul, which Man values himſelf ſo very Highly upon; That of conſidering Corporeal Things abſtractedly, repreſenting what is abſent to himſelf, and deveſting things of what Circumſtances he thinks fit, to conceive them after his own Pleaſure; (for according to the Jargon of the Schools, * *the Object underſtood, is in the ſubject Underſtanding, according to the manner in which the Underſtander repreſents it to himſelf,*) there is ſome Appearance, that Beaſts do

* Intellectum eſt in Intelligente, ad modum Intelligentis.

all

all this too. A *Horſe*, that has been us'd to Charge, when he lies aſleep, in his Litter, ſhall ſhiver, and ſnort, as if he were in an Action; and plainly forms to himſelf, the Sounds of Drums and Trumpets, and the Images of an Army, and a Battel. The *Grey-Hound*, in his Dream, pants and blows, ſets up his Stern, ſhakes his Legs, and conceives a *Spiritual Hare* before him. *Maſtiffs*, and *Houſe-Dogs*, growl in their Sleep, and ſometimes open, and bark out-right, imagining that ſome Stranger is coming in. The faireſt Concluſion of this firſt Point ſeems to me then, to be thus; That the Brutes have Reaſon; That They compare, diſcourſe, and judge, but in a much lower Degree, and nothing comparable, to that Perfection, in which Man does. They have a much leſs Share, but they are not Totally excluded. We excel Them vaſtly, and ſo we do one another; and, indeed, the ſeveral Kinds of Beaſts, excel each other too. Nay, I know not, whether it may not be ſaid, That the difference among Men, is Greateſt; and that ſome Men, excel ſome other Men in Reaſoning, more than ſome Men excel Beaſts.

Ariſtotle, 'tis true, pronounces of ſome Men, that they are ſo extremely Ignorant and Stupid, that they differ in nothing, but Shape, from Brutes. But all this notwithſtanding, to argue, that they have equal Share, and ſtand upon the Level with Mankind; that their Souls are equally Immortal with Ours, or Ours equally Mortal with Theirs, are very Malicious and unfair Inferences. For, beſides that Man excels moſt Conſpicuouſly, in the Operations of Reaſon, there are ſeveral other more Noble Faculties and Prerogatives, ſuch as are entirely Spiritual, which juſtify the Character, of his being the Likeneſs and Image of God; and render him capable of *Immortal Bliſs*; all which the Brutes partake not of, in any the leaſt Degree. And theſe are

all

all implied in the Notion of Intellect, which denotes ſomething more Sublime, than mere Ratiocination.

The other Argument, upon this Occaſion, concerns the Worth and Benefit of this Pre-eminence. For, Allowing the Matter of Fact alledged, to be True, that Man hath Reaſon, and Brutes have it not, yet, What does he get by it? Are not the Nobleſt Faculties paid very Dear for, and do they not do him more Hurt than Good? Are not Theſe the principal Cauſe and Source of the Miſeries that load him? The Vices, the Paſſions, the Inward Diſtempers, All that Irreſolution, and Trouble, and Deſpair, which embitter and caſt a Blemiſh upon our Lives? And theſe the Beaſts have none of, becauſe they have none of thoſe Powers, which are the Seat and the Source of them. Witneſs the Story of *Pyrrho*'s Hog, that eat contentedly on Shipboard, in a Storm, at a time when the Paſſengers and Seamen, were almoſt dead with Fear. "I confeſs, as we manage the Matter, the "generality of People have but a very indifferent "Bargain of This. And ſome who conſider Things "Superficially, and look at what the World is, "not what it might be, are tempted to think that theſe more exalted and larger Endowments of the Soul, have been wholly deny'd, or at leaſt much diminiſhed, and impaired to Beaſts, for their mighty Eaſe and Benefit; and given to Man in their full Strength, for his mighty Torment: Since it is by the Interpoſition and Aſſiſtance of theſe, that he teazes and perplexes himſelf; reſents and ſadly keeps alive the Paſt; is diſtracted with Anxiety and Amazement for the Future; nay, forms to his own Mind, and then is ſcared out of his Wits, with the gaſtly Images of Evils, that are not yet, nor are ever like to be. Now in other Animals, the Senſe and the Apprehenſion of Evil have both 9.

both the ſame Date; till it comes, they know nothing of it; and when it hath done, they have done with it; and from the Moment of its Ceſſation, are in perfect Eaſe, and Tranquillity. And thus you ſee, how Man is rendred (rather indeed, how by his Miſmanagement, he renders himſelf) the worſe for his Advantages; that the Happineſs and Privilege of his Nature, is become the Inſtrument and Occaſion of all his Miſery. And were it not better to have been born naked, than to be provided with *Weapons, and to ſheath them thus, in our own Bowels?

Note.

10. *Dominion and Command.*

Another Advantage over Brutes, which Man makes Pretenſions too, is that of *Dominion*, and Power to Command them, which he imagines to be veſted in him. But, (not to take notice at preſent, that This is but an improper Plea, ſince Men alſo mutually Command, and are Commanded by one another) the Thing in Fact is not true: For where does our Practice and Experience ſhew this univerſal Command in Man, and as univerſal Subjection and Obedience in other Crea-

---

Note. * "*Did Nature, which furniſhed us with theſe Rich and* "*Heavenly Accompliſhments, bring us under a Neceſſity of convert-* "*ing them to our own Sorrow and Ruine; the Gift, indeed,* "*had been Treacherous, and Providence cruelly kind. But ſince* "*they are not the Appetites, and Paſſions, and Faculties themſelves,* "*but the Exceſſes and Indulgings of the One, and the Neglect or* "*Abuſe of the other, to which theſe Miſeries are owing, let us* "*not complain of our Condition, nor charge God fooliſhly; but put* "*all that we ſuffer of this kind, to the Account of our own Follies* "*and Vices. For from hence it is, that Brutes can pretend to en-* "*ter into the Compariſon with us, even in the Eſteem of thoſe,* "*whoſe Wiſh and Intereſt it is, to bring us down to their Level.* "*And were not we by cheriſhing our reſtleſs Paſſions, ſo induſtrious* "*to torment our ſelves, we ſhould not ſee, as now we daily do, that* "*the Dull and Inſenſible live moſt at their Eaſe, and come off* "*Cheaper with the Sufferings of Humane Life, than Men of Wit,* "*and Parts, and more refin'd Underſtanding.*

tures?

tures? 'Tis plain in the preſent State of Things, that this is a mere Fancy; and that Men are much more in fear of Beaſts, than ſtood in fear of by them. It is not to be doubted, but this was once the Caſe; and an ample Commiſſion that was, which the Great Lord of the Univerſe iſſued at the Creation, *Let him have Dominion over the Fowls of the Air, and over the Fiſh of the Sea, and over the Cattel, and over all the Earth.* And admirably fitted he is to execute this Commiſſion, by reaſon of the Majeſty of his Perſon, an erect and beautiful Form, and the Greatneſs and Wiſdom of his Mind. But alas! the Face of Affairs is changed; the actual Exerciſe of this Prerogative loſt. And all that remains, is only what theſe Advantages of his Body and Mind give him; and it may much more properly be ſaid, That Man is made fit to Command, and Brutes to Obey, than that He does actually Command, and They Obey. Gen. 1. 26.

11. *Liberty and Servitude.*

Another Advantage bordering upon the former, is perfect *Liberty*. This Man pretends to, and upbraids Brutes with Captivity, Slavery, and Drudgery; but This, I think, is full as unreaſonable and foreign as the other. Men themſelves lie infinitely more open to Reproaches of that kind: To This let the Inhabitants of *Guinea* ſpeak; elſe what mean the Slaves that are made by Kid-napping and Force, and not only their Perſons enſlav'd, but all their Poſterity too? Nay, what mean thoſe willing Slaves, who ſell their Liberty for Sums of Money, or who part with it gladly and freely, or that truck it away for ſome Conveniency? For was not all this done by the Ancient Gladiators? And is it not now done daily, by Women to their Ladies, and Soldiers to their Commanders? But Beaſts know nothing like this; they ſerve not one another; they neither enſlave, nor are enſlaved by one another; but are in all reſpects

more free, and at their own Diſpoſal, than Men are.

Man, it is confeſs'd, makes theſe his Diverſion and his Entertainment; they furniſh his Sports and his Table: But if He Hunt, and take, and kill, and eat Them; They do the ſame by Him, as Opportunities offer: And that, in a manner more brave and great than His; not by Toils, and Nets, and Cunning; but by honeſt down-right Force. Nay, He is not murder'd and devour'd thus by Beaſts only, but (which is infinitely more) by another Man, his Equal, his Companion, his Brother. No Beaſts ever aſſemble themſelves in Troops, to deſtroy, and ravage, and lead Captive another Troop of the ſame Kind; but Men, to their Eternal Reproach, not only do the Thing, but glory in it, and triumph in the Deſtruction of their own Species.

4. *Virtue.* The Fourth and great Advantage Men pretend to above Brutes, conſiſts in their *Virtue*; but if by this Moral Virtue be meant, and if we may be allow'd to judge of Virtue by the commendable Actions and outward Appearances of it; (This Claim will admit of ſome Diſpute too: Tho' Moral Virtue taken formally, and with regard to the Will, Beaſts cannot have:) For Gratitude, and Friendſhip, and Readineſs to be ſerviceable, Fidelity, Magnanimity, and ſeveral other good Qualities uſeful in Society and Converſation, have been obſerv'd to expreſs themſelves after a more lively, more ſurprizing manner, and with more Conſtancy, in Brutes, than is uſually ſeen in the Generality of Mankind. *Lyſimachus* had a Dog call'd *Hircanus*, which lay perpetually upon the Bed with his dead Maſter, and wou'd not be got from thence to eat or drink, but continu'd thus watching and faſting, till the Corpſe came to be burnt, and then leaped eagerly into the Fire,

Fire, and burnt himſelf with it. The ſame is related of another Dog, that belonged to one *Pyrrhus*. That of the wiſe *Heſiod* detected the Ruffians that murder'd his Maſter: And another did the like before King *Pyrrhus*, and his whole Army. *Plutarch* tells us of another, that hunted about from City to City, and never reſted till he had brought the Robber of the Temple at *Athens*, to Juſtice for his Sacrilege. The Story of *Androdus* is very well known, who had lived and eat with a Lion for ſome Years, after curing him of a painful Wound; and afterwards, when condemn'd at *Rome* to the Wild Beaſts, this Lion wou'd not touch the Slave that had been his Gueſt, and his Surgeon, but approach'd him with all the Demonſtrations of Thankfulneſs and Love; all which, *Appian* declares himſelf to have been an Eye-Witneſs of at *Rome*. An Elephant, that in Heat of Paſſion had kill'd his Keeper, wou'd neither eat nor drink, but pined himſelf to Death, by way of Penance. But now on the other hand, Is there in the World any Creature that can compare with Man, for Injuſtice and Ingratitude, Churliſhneſs and Ill-Nature, Treachery and Baſeneſs, Lying and Diſſimulation? Beſides, allowing Virtue to conſiſt in moderating the Appetite, and curbing one's Pleaſures, Beaſts are then a great deal more regular than We, and keep themſelves more duly within the Bounds of Nature and Convenience. As for thoſe Deſires that are ſuperfluous, extravagant, and unnatural, they never have any Inclination of that kind: And conſequently are exempted from one great and common Species of Humane Vice, which is, The enlarging our Deſires beyond meaſure, and multiplying, nay, inventing freſh Objects to our ſelves; and employing Artifice and Induſtry to heighten and create new Inclinations. In thoſe

See Gell. Lib. V. Cap. 14.

12. *The Concluſion of this Second Conſideration.*

The Sum then of this Compariſon, as you have found it here ſtated, amounts to thus much; That Man hath no ſuch mighty reaſon to magnify Himſelf in the Advantages of his Nature, above That of Brutes: For, allowing Him ſome Endowments and Accompliſhments, which They have not; as the Sprightlineſs and Force of his Mind, and Intellectual Faculties, and all the other nobler Powers of the Soul; yet the Incumbrances upon theſe is very great and grievous; the Evils he is involv'd in upon their Account, infinite and inſupportable: The Inconſtancy and Irreſolution, Superſtition and Solicitude, ſad Remembrances of the paſt and anxious Concern for the Future; Ambition, and Avarice, and Envy, reſtleſs Curioſity, buſy Detraction, Lying, and Deceit, a world of unruly Appetites and Paſſions, Troubles and Diſcontents. Thus this Mind, with the Thoughts and Value whereof Man is ſo much exalted, is the Occaſion of infinite Misfortunes; and of moſt of all then, when it exerts it ſelf moſt: For in all vehement Agitations, it does not only hurt and diſturb the Body, and render its Forces and Functions diſorder'd, and broken, and quite tired down; but it hinders and confounds its own ſelf: For what is it that throws Men into Folly and Madneſs, ſo much as the Acuteneſs, and Activity, and Strength of the Mind it ſelf? The ſubtileſt Follies, and moſt exquiſite Phrenſies, proceed from the quickeſt, and fineſt, and moſt vigorous Agitations of the Mind; as we may obſerve, that the bittereſt Averſions, and moſt irreconcileable Enmities grow from the tendereſt Paſſions, and moſt intimate Friendſhips; and the moſt virulent and mortal Diſeaſes, from a ſtrong Complexion, and healthful Body. Melancholy Perſons are obſerv'd by *Plato*, to be beſt diſpoſed for *Learning* and *Wiſdom*; but they are equally diſpo-

ſed

ſed for *Folly* too; much more than Perſons of a different Temper. And to a Man of nice and juſt Obſervation, it will appear, that when the Soul acts freely, and gives her ſelf a *Looſe*, there is none of her Altitudes and Sallies without a Mixture of *Folly*; and in good Truth, theſe Things dwell very cloſe together;

—— Wit to Madneſs nearly is ally'd,
And thin Partitions do their Bounds divide.

Once more; If we regard the living in Agreement with Nature, and in Conformity with what ſhe dictates and requires from us, Beaſts ſeem to excel us in this reſpect very much; for they lead a Life of more Freedom, more Eaſe, and Security, more Moderation and Contentedneſs, than Men do. And That Man is deſervedly reputed *Wiſe*, who makes *them* his Pattern, and his Leſſon, and reaps Profit by *their* Example; by reforming and reducing himſelf to that Innocence, Simplicity, Liberty, Meekneſs, and Gentleneſs of Temper, which Nature had originally implanted both in Us and Them: And, which in Brutes is ſtill very conſpicuous, but in Us is decay'd, chang'd, and utterly corrupted by our Induſtrious Wickedneſs, and Artificial Depravations; thus debauching and abuſing the particular Prerogative we pretend to, and rendring our ſelves more vile than the Beaſts, by means of that very Underſtanding and Judgment, which ſets us ſo far above them. Hence ſure it is, that God intending to ſhame us into Vertue, ſends us to School in Scripture, and bids us grow wiſer by the Example of theſe Creatures. The *Crane*, the *Stork*, and the *Swallow*; the *Serpent*, and the *Dove*, the *Ant*, and the *Ox*, and the *Aſs*, and ſundry others, are recommended as Teachers to us. And after all, To take down Jer. viii. 7. Mat. x. 16. Prov. vi. 6. Iſa. i. 3.

our Vanity upon this Occaſion, we ought to remember, that there is ſome ſort of Correſpondence, ſome mutual Relations and Duties ariſing from thence; if upon no other account, yet by reaſon of their being made by the ſame Hand, belonging to the ſame Maſter, and making a Part of the ſame Family with our ſelves. And this ſingle Reflection ought to prevail with us, to uſe our Advantages over them modeſtly, tenderly, and conſcientiouſly; and not treat them with Cruelty and Contempt. For as Juſtice is a Debt from us to all Men; ſo Kindneſs, and Beneficence, and Mercy muſt needs be due to all Creatures whatſoever, that are in any Condition of receiving Benefit by us.

ADVERTISEMENT.

OUR Author in the midſt of his great Care to ſtate this Compariſon ſo, as might be moſt mortifying to the *Vanity* of Mankind, hath yet found himſelf oblig'd to acknowledge, that the *Reaſon* of Men is ſo much brighter, and more noble in its Operations and Effects, than any thing diſcoverable in the Brute Part of the Creation, that I might have let this Chapter paſs without any Cenſure, had it not been for two or three Sentences, which ſeem obnoxious to very ill Conſtruction: Such as a ſort of Men are (in our Age) but too fond of embracing, who, at the ſame time that they are vain enough to imagine, that neither the *Nature*, nor the *Revelations* of God himſelf can have any thing in them above their *Reaſon*; are yet ſo ſordid and degenerate, as to be content that Beaſts ſhould be thought endu'd with the ſame Souls, and to be mov'd with the ſame Principles of Reaſon with Themſelves. An Opinion, which is the rather entertain'd, for the ſake of a certain Conſequence

ſequence that recommends it, with regard to a Future State; for it ſeems they can be ſatisfy'd with the Portion of Brutes now, provided they may but partake in it hereafter. And what Favour this Notion might find from theſe Paſſages, *That Brutes and Men both have the ſame Reaſon, tho' not in the ſame Degree,* and that *ſome Men excel others much more than ſome Men again excel Beaſts*; I was doubtful, and therefore look'd upon my ſelf concerned, (in purſuance of my Propoſals at the Beginning of this Book,) to offer theſe following Conſiderations to my Reader.

Firſt, That in the Operations of the Reaſonable Soul, a great deal depends upon the Organs and Diſpoſition of that Body to which it is joyn'd; and (as hath been already explain'd at large) more eſpecially upon the Brain: Now ſince Anatomiſts have not been able to obſerve any very remarkable Differences between the Contexture of the Humane Brain, and that of Brutes; we are not to think it ſtrange, if there appear ſome ſmall Reſemblances in ſome particular Actions of Men and Beaſts, tho' theſe do not proceed from the ſame Principle of Motion; but owe their Similitude to that of the Body and *Medium* put into thoſe Motions!

Secondly, That the Impreſſions of External Objects have very ſtrong Effects upon the Imagination and Memory; and theſe, aſſiſted by Cuſtom, and Imitation, and Example, will perform many wonderful Things, which yet are not the Operations of *Reaſon,* properly ſo called. Of this kind it is eaſy to obſerve great number of Inſtances, in Them, who either by means of their *Infancy,* have not yet attain'd to the Uſe of Reaſon; or Them, who by ſome Natural Defects never have it at all; or Others, who by ſome accidental Diſturbance have loſt it: In all which Caſes, (not during

during the lucid Intervals only, or when the Powers of the Mind ſeem a little to be awaken'd, but even in the moſt profound Ignorance, or moſt raging Madneſs) Thoſe which are frequently diſtinguiſhed by the Senſitive Faculties of the Soul, put forth ſometimes a marvellous Efficacy and Vigour. And that Theſe are moved entirely by Material and Senſible Objects, and act as neceſſarily as any other Parts of *Matter* whatſoever, hath been the Opinion of many new Philoſophers; ſome of whom imagine, that all the Operations of this kind are as capable of being reſolved by Principles of Mechaniſm, (thoſe Operations, I mean, of Imagination, and Memory, and Cuſtom) as any other Affections and Motions of common *Matter*. How juſt this Concluſion is, I do not pretend to determine; for They themſelves ſeem to confeſs it inſufficient, when they call in to their Aſſiſtance another *Principle*, which is,

Thirdly, That of *Inſtinct*; By which is meant, a ſtrong Tendency, and natural Impulſe (diſcernible in theſe Creatures) to certain neceſſary and uſeful Actions. Something of a Principle implanted in them by their wiſe Creator, to qualify them for their own Preſervation, and the anſwering the Ends of his good Providence in making them. And this appears ſo early, as to be plainly antecedent to either Memory or Fancy; and yet is ſo conſtant too, and always the ſame, in the ſame Circumſtances and Occaſions; as neither to depend upon Cauſes ſo mutable as the Impreſſions of outward Objects, nor a Principle ſo capricious as the Choice of ſuch a Mind perfectly free ſeems in its Deliberations. And, as Inſtruments put together by a skilful Hand, perform many Operations, ſo aſtoniſhing, that a Man unexperienc'd in the Art, cou'd not poſſibly imagine ſuch Materials

terials capable of them; ſo theſe Philoſophers conceive, that Almighty God, in his Infinite Wiſdom, hath ſo diſpoſed the Senſitive Parts of the Soul, that They, by their wonderful Structure, ſhall be adapted to moſt amazing Effects, and poſſeſſed with ſome Original Propenſions and Impulſes, independent from, and antecedent to, the Impreſſions of Matter, or the Power of Inſtitution and Cuſtom; which, in the needful and moſt profitable Actions of Life, ſerve theſe Animals for Fundamental Principles, and bear ſome kind of Affinity to the firſt common Notions, in the Rational and Intelligent Mind. And upon theſe Impulſes joyn'd to thoſe other Advantages mention'd before, the whole Oeconomy of Brutes, and even thoſe Actions, which ſeem moſt exquiſite and admirable in any of them, have, by the Modern Mechanick Philoſophers, been generally thought to depend. Concerning which, tho' almoſt every Syſtem treat in ſome meaſure, yet I believe my Reader (whether his Opinion incline to that Account or not) would at leaſt think himſelf well entertain'd upon this Subject, by the Peruſal of our Learned and Ingenious Dr. *Willis*, in the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of his Book *De Animâ Brutorum*.

Two Things are fit to be added upon this Occaſion, with regard to what Monſieur *Charron* hath deliver'd concerning *Inſtinct*: The firſt is, That in regard we obſerve theſe Animals conſtantly going on in the ſame beaten Track, and keeping ever cloſe to one Method; and even in thoſe Inſtances which have the greateſt appearance of Compariſon and Choice, of Ten thouſand that make the ſame Experiment, or go about the ſame thing, not one varying from the common and received Way; This ſeems to be ſome *Governing Principle* in Nature, which gives a neceſſary Determination to them; and very different from that Liberty and Con-

Conſideration, which hath ſcarce any more convincing and demonſtrative Proof of the Will, being abſolutely unconſtrain'd in Mankind, than that Multiplicity of Opinions, and ſtrange Variety of Proceedings, obſervable upon Occaſions and Junctures, in themſelves extremely alike.

The other Remark, proper upon this Occaſion, is, that what our Author ſuggeſts here, is no Conſequence at all: as if too much Honour were done to theſe Creatures, and ſuch a happy and unalterable Determination, to what is profitable and proper for them, were a Privilege more than Humane; a nearer Approach to that unerring Wiſdom, and unchangeable Goodneſs of the Divine Nature, than We our ſelves can boaſt of. For there is ſo very wide a Difference between *Liberty* and *Neceſſity* of acting; the One is ſo Glorious, ſo truly Noble; the Other ſo Mean, ſo Slaviſh a Principle, that no Compariſon can be made between them. The moſt Glorious, moſt Beautiful, moſt Uſeful Parts of the Material Creation, are in this reſpect, infinitely beneath the meaneſt of the Sons of Men; and all their other Advantages put together, cannot deſerve to be laid into the Balance againſt this Single Dignity, of Free and Spontaneous Action. And tho' the Excellency of the Divine Nature, be indefectible and unalterable Goodneſs; yet would not even This be an Excellence, if it were not the Effect of perfect Liberty. It is, indeed, our Misfortune, that our Underſtandings are impoſed upon, our Affections perverted; and ſo the Choice we have the Uſe of, often determines us to the wrong Side, and entangles us in Error and Vice. But Theſe Defects and Temptations are ſo many Clogs and Bars upon our Freedom; and therefore God, who is above any Poſſibility of ſuch falſe Determinations, is ſtill ſo much the more Free.

For

For *Freedom* does not conſiſt in a Power of chooſing *Evil* as well as *Good* (which is a Power, indeed, that never was, nor can be, ſtrictly ſpeaking) but in being Self-moved, and Self-acted; ſo as to be the Diſpoſer of one's own Will, without any Compulſion or neceſſary Determination, from a Foreign or External Principle; and only acting, as one is acted upon. If then this Inſtinct in Brutes, be a Matter of *Force*, and neceſſary Determination, they are in no degree the better or more commendable for it; but under a fatal Conſtraint, which is ſo far from reſembling the Divine Perfection, that it admits of no Virtue, nor ought to be eſteem'd any Excellence, but the direct contrary.

Fourthly, Let us obſerve, what mighty Difference there is between the *Perceptions* of Brutes, and thoſe of Men; ſo great, that in them we find no Footſteps of any but ſuch as are material and ſingle Objects; and what this Author advances as Collections, and Inferences from thence, are not improbably aſſign'd by Others, to the Force of Imagination, or the Strength of Memory, or to thoſe Natural Impreſſions, which commonly go by the Name of *Inſtinct*. To the latter of Theſe we find very Learned Men, attributing that uniform Proceſs of Birds, and Bees, and Ants, in their Nutrition, Generation, Production, and the like. To the former, that which *Charron* terms deducing an *Univerſal* from a *Singular*, and knowing by the having ſeen one Man, how to diſtinguiſh the Humane Form, in any, or all Individuals of the ſame Species. But, ſuppoſing we ſhould allow, that this proceeds from a diſtinguiſhing Faculty, and not merely from the refreſhing and awaking an Image, that lay dormant in the Memory, 'till revived by this freſh Object; yet what Proportion can even thus much bear, to all thoſe abſtracted Idea's by which

which Men diſtinguiſh the Natures and Properties of Things? If a Brute, from the Sight of a Man, cou'd collect ſo much as ſhould ſerve to diſcriminate all other Men from Creatures of a different Species; yet what is this in Compariſon of that Penetration, which examines into the Abſtruſe Cauſes, and Eſſential Differences of Things, and informs it ſelf diſtinctly, wherein that very Character of our Nature, which we call *Humanity*, conſiſts? And what account can there be given of any univerſal or abſtracted Idea's in Beaſts? of any of thoſe which we properly call *Reaſonable Actions*? For as to theſe ſeeming Demurrs, and little Compariſons, which we find inſtanced in here, and in other Places, it is uſual to obſerve as much, in Children ſo little, and Naturals ſo wretchedly ſtupid, as that there are but very faint, if any Glimpſes at all, of *Underſtanding* in them. I know,
S. 1. indeed, *Monſieur Charron* hath provided a Reply to this Argument, by ſaying, That we cannot have any competent Knowledge of Their Internal Operations. But tho' we do not ſee all the hidden Movements of their Souls, nor can diſtinctly ſay, whether they are *feeble Reaſoners*, or *ſtupendous Machines*; yet we may be very confident, they cannot dive into the Cauſes and abſtracted Idea's of Things; becauſe there do not appear the leaſt Foot-ſteps, or any of thoſe Noble Effects, of ſuch Knowledge, which Mankind have in all Ages been conſpicuous for. For to theſe abſtracted Notions it is, that all the amazing Inventions and Improvements of Arts and Sciences; but eſpecially the Wonders of *Mechaniſm* and *Motion*, by Numbers and Proportions duly adjuſted, owe their Birth and daily Growth. And ſince in the Diſtinction and Perception of Concrete Bodies, where Senſation is chiefly concern'd, the Brutes are acknowledged to equal, if not exceed Us, in Accuracy; it is not

to

to be conceived, that They who excel in a Faculty, which is commenſurate to a Senſitive Soul, ſhould be able to give no Marks at all of their being endu'd with a Capacity of entertaining and feeding upon thoſe Idea's, which are the peculiar Prerogatives and Glories of a Rational One.

Much more might be added upon this Occaſion, with regard both to the Objects themſelves; and the particular Manner of Conception; and the infinite Diſparities of the Humane Intellect, and that Faculty, which is affected in Brutes. But it is Prejudice ſufficient againſt them, that ſo many very Wiſe and Inquiſitive Perſons have found Cauſe, to do even ſomething more than doubt, whether Brutes be better than a ſort of *Divine Clock-work*; and have any manner of Senſe or Perception at all. This, at leaſt, was never aſſerted of Man; nor the Powers and Operations of his Reaſoning Soul diſputed, (as to the Reality of them,) except by ſuch as ſet up for *Univerſal Scepticiſm*, and are for reducing all to a State of Confuſion and Uncertainty. And therefore if, becauſe Brutes ſeem to act by a Faculty, which we cannot perfectly account for, we ſhould allow, to theſe Brutes, ſome few dusky Glimmerings of Reaſon (which yet there is no abſolute Neceſſity for, becauſe they have ſomething like it) yet no impartial Conſiderer, can ever admit, that it will bear a Queſtion, whether They or We have the better of this Point; or that *Some Men excel others, more than ſome again excel Beaſts*; for there is no Man, how mean and untaught ſoever, if provided with what we call *Common Senſe*, but finds an Ability in himſelf, nay, exerciſes that Ability every Day, (even when he does not know or think of it) of conſidering, comparing, and determining in ſuch a manner, as no good Arguments have ever yet been offer'd to ſhew that Beaſts either do, or can do. They are juſtly thought

thought to do ſomewhat very extraordinary, when by long Cuſtom, and ſevere Diſcipline, and daily Example and Inſtruction, brought to imitate ſome very common Actions of Men; But what Divine Heights do Men themſelves aſcend to, when they have proportionable Pains taken with them? And here in Juſtice the Compariſon ought to lie; between the *beſt* of each Kind; not the *beſt* of One, and the *loweſt* of the Other; the moſt unapt and neglected of Men, and the moſt teachable and improved of Brutes: For the Advantages, or the Want of *Art*, cannot at all affect the Diſpute, where the Gifts of *Nature* are the Matter in Queſtion: And theſe are diſtributed with ſo very uneven a Hand in the Caſe before us; that He muſt be either very ſtupid, or very perverſe, who does not ſee the mighty Diſproportion.

As to the other Part of this Diſcourſe, whether *Reaſon* be any *real Benefit*, and we might not have been as well, or better without it; I ſhall only need to add, that the ſeveral Inſtances produced here, are only ſuch as are ſad and very reproachful Truths, in regard of thoſe Abuſes of Reaſon, Men are guilty of; and the wicked, or the miſchievous Purpoſes they pervert it to: But as to the Thing it ſelf, they are no more a Reflection upon it, than the Surfeits and Beſtiality of Gluttons, and Sots, are upon the common Refreſhments of Life. What is ſaid upon this Occaſion, will do well indeed to be conſider'd, by thoſe vicious and indiſcreet Men, who apply That as a *Spur* to their Wickedneſs, and Paſſion, which was intended for a *Curb* to both; And the World ought to be humbled and reformed by a ſerious Reflection, how acceſſary Men become to their own Miſeries, and how obſtinately fond they are of them, when their very *Remedies* are induſtriouſly turned into the worſt of *Diſeaſes*: But all this, notwithſtanding *Monſieur Charron's*

Charron's Argument here, is abundantly refuted by himſelf, in the laſt Words of this whole Treatiſe, where he vindicates the Honour of *Eloquence*, from the miſchievous Effects, which ſome ill-deſigning Men apply it to by this Parallel: "For (ſays he) even That *Reaſon* and *Underſtanding*, which is the peculiar *Prerogative of Humane Nature*, and ſets us above Brutes, is moſt "miſerably abus'd; turn'd againſt God, and our "Selves; and made the Occaſion of our more in-"excuſable Ruine. But This is only an Acci-"dental Misfortune; far from the Natural Ten-"dency of ſo Noble a Privilege. And He, who "wou'd argue from hence, that Mankind had "better want theſe Faculties, may juſtly ſeem "to have degenerated into Brute; and to be "quite forſaken of all that Reaſon, which he ſo "wildly and ſo raſhly condemns. So juſt Ground is there for reading this Treatiſe, with thoſe Cautions to be laid down upon the XXXVIIth *Chapter*; and ſo truly does our Author keep up his Character of an *Academick Philoſopher*.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Third Reſpect, under which we propoſed to conſider Man, *is by taking a ſhort View, and ſummary Account of his* Life.

The True Value, the Continuance, and Deſcription of Humane Life, and the ſeveral Parts or Stages of it.

1. *Of the Worth, or juſt Eſtimate of Life.*

ONE very conſiderable; One, indeed, of the principal and moſt neceſſary Points of Wiſdom, is rightly to underſtand the True Value of *Life*; and to make ſo juſt an Eſtimate of it, as to keep or to loſe it; to cheriſh and preſerve, or to neglect and lay it down; and ſo to manage our ſelves in the whole Conduct of it, as Duty and Decency require. There is not any one Caſe, in which Men are more apt to be wanting, nor where their Failings are of more dangerous Conſequence, for the involving them in new and infinite Difficulties. The Mean, and the Ignorant, the Worldling, and the Man of Pleaſure; and, in general, all that do not, or cannot conſider, prize *Life* extravagantly: They look upon it as the *Supreme Good*, and prefer it ſo much before all other Things, as not to admit a Compariſon between them. If Life were to be ſold at a Price; nay, if a ſhort Reprieve only, and lengthening out their Term a little, can be had, they can think nothing too dear, no Conditions too hard to be ſubmitted too; but are ſatisfied the Purchaſe ought to be made at any rate. For This, they tell you, is their *Happineſs*, and *when That is gone, All is gone*; their

their very Motto is, *Nothing more precious than Life.* (*Vitâ nihil charius*) They value and love it, not only as the Scene of Action and Enjoyment, and upon the account of the Conveniences and Opportunities it affords, but upon its own ſuppoſed Intrinſick Worth, and live merely for the ſake of Living. And how can we think it ſtrange, that ſuch Perſons ſhould be ſo very defective in the reſt of their Duty, ſo miſ-led with Errors and extravagant Notions, when they make the very firſt Step wrong, and ſet out in ſo groſs a Miſtake, concerning this great Fundamental Article of Wiſdom and Virtue?

There is alſo a Contempt of *Life*, that declines as much to Vice in the other Extreme, and repreſents it as a Burden, or a Trifle; Worth nothing, or worſe than nothing: But this Undervaluing is the Effect of Weakneſs and Ignorance, of Pride and Ingratitude. For we know very well, that when it falls into Wiſe and Good Hands, it is capable of becoming an Inſtrument of great and general Uſe, both to our Selves, and to Others. Now I can by no means be of Their Opinion, taken literally and plainly, who give it out for their Principle, That * *the greateſt Happineſs is, Not to live at all; and the next moſt deſirable Thing is, To live but a very little while.* Nor is that Argument they uſe in Vindication of this Opinion, at all ſufficient or ſatisfactory: What Hurt (ſay they) could there be in *Non-Exiſtence*? And what Matter had it been, if I were never created? To This one may reply with reaſon enough, What do you make of all the Happineſs you have enjoy'd? What wou'd become of This, if you had had *no Being*? And would it not have been ſome Matter, ſome

* Optimum non naſci; aut quam citiſſimè aboleri.

Hurt never to have enjoy'd it? For certainly, tho' the loſs of the Good which we have, and know the Worth of, be a more ſenſible Evil; yet the mere Privation of Good, and never having it at all, is one ſort of Evil too; even tho' that Good be ſuch as we ſhou'd never have miſſed, nor ſuch as was neceſſary to us. Theſe Extremes are too wide; they overſtrain the Point on both ſides, and degenerate into Vice; tho' they are not equally vicious and erroneous neither.

I confeſs, ſpeaking in the Quality of a Philoſopher, and with regard to the preſent State of Affairs only; I do not think that Wiſe Ancient much out of the way, who acknowleged † *Life to be good; but ſuch a Good as no Man would accept of, if it were left to his own free Choice, and he were fairly inform'd before-hand, what Incumbrances lay upon it.* It is not at all amiſs, that we are engaged in it, before we know what it is: We come into the World blind-fold; but that is no reaſon why Men ſhou'd afterwards put out their own Eyes, or hood-wink themſelves. For the Miſchief is, that, when we are got hither, we run into different Ways: Some cheat themſelves into ſo extravagant a Fondneſs for Life, that they wou'd not part with it again at any rate. Others fret themſelves into ſo ill an Opinion of it, that they grumble eternally, are diſcontented at every thing, and pretend to be weary, and ſick of Living. But Wiſe Men have juſter Notions of the Matter; They conſider that this was a Bargain made without their Knowledge or Conſent; (for no Man lives, or dies, aſſoon, or as late, or in ſuch Manner and Circumſtances, as he pleaſes himſelf) But ſtill it is a Bargain we are bound to ſtand to; and if it be a hard one,

† Vitam nemo acciperet, ſi daretur ſcientibus.

we

we muſt try to make the beſt of it. Sometimes we ſhall meet with rough Ways; but the whole Paſſage is not ſo: And therefore Philoſophers agree, that the beſt Courſe is, to create no Diſturbance, nor ſtruggle and flounder unprofitably, but for Men to ſuit their Tempers, and comply with their Circumſtances as well as they can; to carry it off with Evenneſs and Moderation, and make a *Virtue of Neceſſity*; for That is the Character of Wiſdom and good Management: And when they have fixed themſelves in this Method, then to live as long as is fit for them, conſiſtent with their Duty and Decency: Not as long as is poſſible for them, which is the Principle of Fooliſh and Profligate People. For there is a Seaſon proper for Dying, as well as one for Living; and a Virtuous Honourable Death is a thouſand times rather to be choſen, than a Wicked and Infamous Life. Now a Wiſe and Good Man makes it his Buſineſs to live juſt ſo long as Life is better than Death, and no longer: For, as we obſerved before, that They are in the wrong, who eſteem the ſhorteſt Life beſt; ſo is that common Opinion a Miſtake too, which raiſes the Value by Computation of Years, and accounts that Life beſt which laſts longeſt.

2. *Of the Shortneſs of Life.*

The Shortneſs of that Term allow'd us in this World, is a great and a general Complaint: We meet it in every Mouth; not from the Ignorant and Vulgar only, where we cannot expect better, than that They ſhould be willing to live always; but (which may be allow'd a little to ſurprize us, even Great Souls, and Wiſe Men, reckon it among their very greateſt Unhappineſſes. Now to ſay the very Truth, as Men uſually manage the Matter, and indeed as Nature hath in ſome meaſure contriv'd it, Life is very ſhort; For the greateſt Part of it is employed and di-

verted otherwiſe; and a very ſmall Proportion left for the true Uſes and Ends of Living. The Time of our Infancy and Ignorance, the Decays and Infirmities of Old Age, the neceſſary Intervals of Sleep, the Diſeaſes of our Bodies and our Minds, and the infinite other void Spaces of it, wherein we are incapable of doing Good, run away with a great deal of our Time: And when the Whole is ſumm'd up, and theſe Abatements made, the Remainder is not much. But yet, without troubling our ſelves with the contrary Opinion, which aſſerts the Shortneſs of Life to be greatly for our Advantage, we ſhall find Reaſon enough to accuſe this Complaint of Injuſtice; and to think it more the Effect of Inconſideration and Ill-Nature, than of good Arguing, and virtuous Diſpoſition. For what Advantage would a longer Life be to us? Shall we wiſh for it to no other Purpoſe, but merely to Live in; to take our Eaſe, to Eat, and Drink, and Sleep, to look about us, and ſee more of the World? What need is there of ſo much Time for this? We have already ſeen, and known, and taſted what we are capable of, in a very little time; and when we are got to the End of our Curioſity, This is ſufficient. What Good will it do us, or wherefore ſhould we wiſh to act the ſame Things over and over again, and be always beginning afreſh? Who would not be cloy'd with eating upon the ſame Diſh every Day? If this be not nauſeous and troubleſome, yet to be ſure it is ſuperfluous and unneceſſary. This is but One Circle, which is perpetually rolling, and brings the ſame Things uppermoſt again; ſometimes they remove to a little diſtance, and then they quickly return back upon us: 'Tis but a ſpinning the ſame Web; and that which may ſerve a Child to play with, but can never be a fit Entertainment for grown Men.

Shall

Shall we then wiſh it for nobler Ends; that we may grow wiſer and better, and aſpire to higher degrees of Virtue and Perfection; that we may do more Good, and be more uſeful in our Generations? This, indeed, carries the Appearance of an excellent Diſpoſition; but They that know us, will not be impoſed upon by it: For Who ſhall teach, Who ſhall improve us? Alas! That little which is committed to our Truſt, is ſo ill uſed, that we cannot have the Confidence to ask for more. We neglect what we have already, and ſuffer the greateſt Part of it to ſlip thro' our Fingers. We ſquander it away profuſely upon Vanity and Trifles; nay, we abuſe and miſemploy it upon Wickedneſs and Vice. And yet after all this Unfaithfulneſs and Folly, we cry and complain for more, and think our ſelves ill dealt with, that we have not enough. Enough for what? For the ſame inſignificant and ill Purpoſes to be ſure; for That wou'd be the Conſequence of a more liberal Allowance too. But, ſuppoſing Men ſerious in this Matter; and that they wou'd really do as they pretend; yet of what Uſe wou'd this vaſt Treaſure of Knowledge and Experience prove? For the Soul muſt change its Dwelling at one time or other; and whenever That diſlodges, all our Wiſdom goes with it. Since therefore This cannot ſtay always, why ſhould we take it ill that it ſtays ſo little a time? For if it ſink into a State of Oblivion, and all muſt be loſt, What mighty Difference is there, whether this be done ſooner or later? But if it removes into a better Condition, and be (as it really will be) put into a State of clearer Viſion, and more perfect Knowledge, why ſhould we deſire to have that Happineſs delay'd, and kept back from us?

But you will ſay, perhaps, This *Gift of Life* is very unequally diſtributed; for there are ſome

Creatures that live three or four times as long as the uſual Age of Man. I might anſwer, That the Accounts we have of this kind are many, if not moſt of them, fabulous. But waving That, and allowing the Objection; yet it muſt be confeſs'd withal, that ſome, nay, the much greater part of Animals, live not near ſo long; ſome never arrive at a Fourth part of our Years, and very few ever come to an equal length with us. *Now* pray, what Right, what Privilege, what Reaſon hath Man to challenge a longer Duration here, than the reſt of his Fellow-Creatures have a Title to? Where did God ever grant him ſuch a Charter, or how will he be able to make good the Claim? Is it reaſonable He ſhould be indulg'd more than They, becauſe he puts out his Time to better Intereſt, and employs it upon Buſineſs *more* noble and ſublime in it ſelf, more worthy and deſerving of this Favour, than They are capable of? I greatly fear, this Argument may be thrown back in our Faces, and prove the ſtrongeſt Plea againſt us: For ſure He ought rather to be cut ſhorter than the reſt, as a Puniſhment for his Abuſe and Miſmanagement. And in this He is ſingular, and ſtands alone. The whole Creation cannot furniſh a Parallel; not any one Inſtance of this Bleſſing ſo grievouſly perverted; not ſuch another *Monſter* of Wickedneſs and Unfaithfulneſs, of Ingratitude and Baſeneſs, of Intemperance and Debauchery, and all manner of diſorderly Living. This *Charge* hath been ſufficiently proved upon him already, when we ſtated the Compariſon betwixt Him and the Beaſts; and therefore I urge my Point, and ask that Queſtion once more, What Benefit wou'd a longer Life be to him? Nay, I back that with a Second, and add, What an Inconvenience would it be to Himſelf, and how miſchievous to the World? It would make his

own

own Account the heavier, his Crimes and Arrears the greater, and it wou'd encourage him to yet more Extravagancies than he is guilty of already: For this very Conſideration would put him upon bolder and more deſperate Attempts. The ſhortneſs of his Continuance in the World, as Matters now ſtand, is ſome Check to his wild Career, and breaks all his Meaſures; and the Uncertainty of it abates and damps his Fury: But if theſe Reſtraints were removed, and Aſſurances given of a larger Term, Nothing would be able to ſtop him; his Projects would be always New, without Number, without End; and he would *live* as if he were to *live for ever*. You ſee how ſtrong theſe Inclinations are now. He cannot but feel and fear his own Mortality; and yet theſe Reflections are ſo over-balanc'd by a corrupt Principle within, that he cannot forbear holding faſt what he hath, and eager Deſires and Purſuits of what he hath not, and forming vaſt and very diſtant Deſigns, as if he were really Immortal. * Tis a juſt Reproof which *Seneca* gives, *Ye live, as if Life were never to have an End. The Frailty of your Nature is never thought of; or, if it be, 'tis remembred to no purpoſe; for at the ſame time that your Fears are infinite, and this proves you Mortal; your Deſires are infinite too, as if you look'd upon your ſelves to be Immortal.*

Again; What neceſſity is there for all thoſe great and goodly Deſigns, and that mighty Buſineſs, which is pretended to merit a *longer Life* for Mankind, than any other Animal? Does Nature require more back than is given us? No ſure.

---

* Tanquam ſemper victuri vivitis. Nunquam vobis fragilitas veſtra ſuccurrit; omnia tanquam Mortales timetis, tanquam Immortales concupiſcitis. *Seneca.*

Men

Men have no juſt ground of Complaint; but abundant Cauſe for Indignation and Remorſe, for treating themſelves no better. The *Life* allow'd us is enough to anſwer All the Purpoſes of it; but the Miſery is, that we turn Negligent and Prodigals, and do not husband it ſo well as we might and ought to do: It is not ſhort of it ſelf, but we make it ſo, by waſting it unprofitably. We labour under no Wants of this kind, but *what* our own Prodigality brings upon us; and are ſcandalouſly laviſh of the Thing we pretend to need moſt. * We loſe it, we ſell it, we throw it away; we vilifie it, and complain that it hangs upon our Hands; we are at ſome Pains to paſs it away, as if it were a Matter of no Worth at all; as if our Stomachs were over-loaded, and we ſick and cloy'd with too great Abundance. There is not any of us, but is guilty of one or other of theſe Three Faults; either employing it Ill, or not employing it at All, or employing it Inſignificantly, and to no purpoſe. † *A great part of our Life* (ſays *Seneca*) *is run off in doing what we ſhould not; much the greateſt in doing nothing at all; and almoſt the whole of it in doing things by the by, and ſuch as are not our proper Buſineſs.* No Body takes Pains in learning how to Live; but All lay out their Studies and their Time upon any other Subject, rather than This. And yet This, like all other Arts, is not to be attained ſlightly and eaſily; a Man cannot be expert in it without long Practice, much Diligence, and very ſollicitous Application of the Mind. Some put off all Thought of *living well*, till they can *live no longer*. They ſpend the Vi-

* Non inopes vitæ, ſed prodigi.

† Magna vitæ pars elabitur malè agentibus, maxima nihil agentibus, tota aliud agentibus.

gour

gour and Flower of their Years in Toil, and Trouble, and Folly; and propoſe great Enjoyments to themſelves hereafter, and wondrous Comforts in their declining Age. How are they ſure they ſhall live to that Age? But if they were, what a wretched Madneſs is This? 'Tis directly as if a Man ſhould ſet his Cask to running, and let out all the beſt and ſprightly Liquor, that he may reſerve the Dregs for his own Drinking. *Age* is the *Lee* and *Sediment of Life*; All we can do then, is to try if we can ſuſtain and ſweeten it a little; but to defer our Satisfactions till then, is to give them quite away, and loſe them for altogether. Nay, many never go thus far, but finiſh their Day without ever beginning their Work; and go off the Stage without conſidering why they were brought on, or what Part they were to act. * *Some* (ſays the Philoſopher) *begin to live when they ſhould make an End; others ceaſe to live before ever they begun: Among the many Miſchiefs that Folly brings upon us, This is not the leaſt, That it is always beginning to live.* We think of Buſineſs, and intend to ſet about it; but make no Progreſs at all, nor bring any thing to Perfection.

3. *Deſcription of it.*

The World is a Theatre, and our preſent Life in it, the Beginning and the End of a Play; our Birth draws the Curtain, and our Death ſhuts it up again: 'Tis a Comedy of Errors; a conſtant Succeſſion of Accidents and Adventures, a Contexture and Chain of ſeveral Miſeries linked cloſely, and interwoven within one another; nothing but Evil on every ſide; That which paſſes off, and that which approaches, and comes into its place; and theſe drive out, and puſh forward

* Quidam vivere incipiunt cum deſinendum: Quidam ante deſiverunt quàm inciperent: Inter cætera mala, hoc quoque habet ſtultitia, ſemper incipit vivere.

each

each other, as the Waves of the Sea do in their Ebbings and Flowings; Trouble and Diſquiet are always at hand; but for Happineſs, we are cheated with the empty Shadow of it. Blindneſs and Inſenſibility take up the Beginning of our Lives; Labour and Anxious Care, the Middle; Weakneſs and Pain, the Latter End; but Ignorance and Error reach from the Beginning to the End: Theſe are inſeparable, and keep us Company quite through.

4. The *Life* of Man hath its Inconveniences and Miſeries of ſeveral ſorts. Some of them are in Common, extending to all Perſons, and all Times; Others are Peculiar and Succeſſive, and diſtinguiſh'd by the different Parts, and Age, and particular Seaſons and Accidents of Life: As Childhood, Youth, Maturity, Man's Eſtate, and Old Age; for Each of theſe hath its diſtinct Calamities; ſome Embaſements and Incumbrances, which may be properly call'd its own.

5. *Youth and Age compar'd.* When *Youth* and *Old Age* come to be weigh'd one againſt the other, it hath been uſual to give the Advantage to the latter: And moſt Authors ſpeak of Age with Honour and Reſpect, as having attain'd to greater degrees of Wiſdom, more maturity of Judgment, more Moderation and Temper: All which good Qualities are marvellouſly cry'd up, with a Deſign to put Youth out of Countenance, and to charge upon it the contrary Characters of Vice and Folly, Licentiouſneſs and Extravagance. But with the leave of thoſe, who have thus decided the Controverſie, I muſt take Liberty to declare, that this Verdict is in my Opinion very unjuſt: For, in good truth, the Defects and the Vices of Age are more in Number, worſe in Quality, and leſs to be reſiſted or recover'd, than thoſe that are peculiar to Youth. Years deform our Minds as much as our Bodies; bring Wrinkles there as well as in our Faces, and turn our Tempers

pers ſowre and mouldy with long keeping. The Soul keeps pace with the Body; Both are ſpent, and Both decay, till at laſt we grow ſo weak, ſo perfectly helpleſs, as in reſpect of both, to verifie that Proverb, of *Old Men* being *twice Children*. *Age* is a neceſſary, but a ſtrong Diſeaſe; it loads us inſenſibly with grievous Imperfections, and then contrives to cover the Shame of them with creditable Names. What is in effect no other than moroſeneſs of Humour, a peeviſh diſlike of the preſent Enjoyments, and Diſability to do as the Man did heretofore, paſſes for Wiſdom and Gravity, Experience, and an Inſight into the Vanity of the World. But Wiſdom is ſomewhat much more noble than all this comes to, and far above making uſe of ſuch mean Inſtruments. There is a vaſt difference between *growing older* and *growing wiſer*; between forſaking all Vice, and the changing one for another; and, as it often happens in this Caſe, changing for the Worſe. Old Age condemns the Pleaſures and Gaieties of Youth; but how much of this muſt be allowed to its not being now able to reliſh them any longer? It is like *Eſop*'s Dog, hates and deſpiſes what it cannot enjoy. But This is not to diſdain and give over Pleaſure; it is rather to be diſdain'd and given over by it. Pleaſure is always Airy and Entertaining; and theſe are Perſons no longer for its Turn. But why ſhould they caſt a Reflection upon That, which is due to themſelves? Why ſhou'd Impotence corrupt their Judgment? For this, if impartially conſulted, would tell Young Men, that there is Vice in their Pleaſures; and Old Men, that there is Pleaſure in Vice. And if this were rightly underſtood, and frankly confeſt, Youth would be a great deal the better, and Old Age not one whit the worſe.

The

each other, as the Waves of the Sea do in their Ebbings and Flowings; Trouble and Diſquiet are always at hand; but for Happineſs, we are cheated with the empty Shadow of it. Blindneſs and Inſenſibility take up the Beginning of our Lives; Labour and Anxious Care, the Middle; Weakneſs and Pain, the Latter End; but Ignorance and Error reach from the Beginning to the End: Theſe are inſeparable, and keep us Company quite through.

4. The *Life* of Man hath its Inconveniences and Miſeries of ſeveral ſorts. Some of them are in Common, extending to all Perſons, and all Times; Others are Peculiar and Succeſſive, and diſtinguiſh'd by the different Parts, and Age, and particular Seaſons and Accidents of Life: As Childhood, Youth, Maturity, Man's Eſtate, and Old Age; for Each of theſe hath its diſtinct Calamities; ſome Embaſements and Incumbrances, which may be properly call'd its own.

5. *Youth and Age compar'd.* When *Youth* and *Old Age* come to be weigh'd one againſt the other, it hath been uſual to give the Advantage to the latter: And moſt Authors ſpeak of Age with Honour and Reſpect, as having attain'd to greater degrees of Wiſdom, more maturity of Judgment, more Moderation and Temper: All which good Qualities are marvellouſly cry'd up, with a Deſign to put Youth out of Countenance, and to charge upon it the contrary Characters of Vice and Folly, Licentiouſneſs and Extravagance. But with the leave of thoſe, who have thus decided the Controverſie, I muſt take Liberty to declare, that this Verdict is in my Opinion very unjuſt: For, in good truth, the Defects and the Vices of Age are more in Number, worſe in Quality, and leſs to be reſiſted or recover'd, than thoſe that are peculiar to Youth. Years deform our Minds as much as our Bodies; bring Wrinkles there as well as in our Faces, and turn our Tempers

pers ſowre and mouldy with long keeping. The Soul keeps pace with the Body; Both are ſpent, and Both decay, till at laſt we grow ſo weak, ſo perfectly helpleſs, as in reſpect of both, to verifie that Proverb, of *Old Men* being *twice Children*. *Age* is a neceſſary, but a ſtrong Diſeaſe; it loads us inſenſibly with grievous Imperfections, and then contrives to cover the Shame of them with creditable Names. What is in effect no other than moroſeneſs of Humour, a peeviſh diſlike of the preſent Enjoyments, and Diſability to do as the Man did heretofore, paſſes for Wiſdom and Gravity, Experience, and an Inſight into the Vanity of the World. But Wiſdom is ſomewhat much more noble than all this comes to, and far above making uſe of ſuch mean Inſtruments. There is a vaſt difference between *growing older* and *growing wiſer*; between forſaking all Vice, and the changing one for another; and, as it often happens in this Caſe, changing for the Worſe. Old Age condemns the Pleaſures and Gaieties of Youth; but how much of this muſt be allowed to its not being now able to reliſh them any longer? It is like *Eſop*'s Dog, hates and deſpiſes what it cannot enjoy. But This is not to diſdain and give over Pleaſure; it is rather to be diſdain'd and given over by it. Pleaſure is always Airy and Entertaining; and theſe are Perſons no longer for its Turn. But why ſhould they caſt a Reflection upon That, which is due to themſelves? Why ſhou'd Impotence corrupt their Judgment? For this, if impartially conſulted, would tell Young Men, that there is Vice in their Pleaſures; and Old Men, that there is Pleaſure in Vice. And if this were rightly underſtood, and frankly confeſt, Youth would be a great deal the better, and Old Age not one whit the worſe.

The

each other, as the Waves of the Sea do in their Ebbings and Flowings; Trouble and Diſquiet are always at hand; but for Happineſs, we are cheated with the empty Shadow of it. Blindneſs and Inſenſibility take up the Beginning of our Lives; Labour and Anxious Care, the Middle; Weakneſs and Pain, the Latter End; but Ignorance and Error reach from the Beginning to the End: Theſe are inſeparable, and keep us Company quite through.

4. The *Life* of Man hath its Inconveniences and Miſeries of ſeveral ſorts. Some of them are in Common, extending to all Perſons, and all Times; Others are Peculiar and Succeſſive, and diſtinguiſh'd by the different Parts, and Age, and particular Seaſons and Accidents of Life: As Childhood, Youth, Maturity, Man's Eſtate, and Old Age; for Each of theſe hath its diſtinct Calamities; ſome Embaſements and Incumbrances, which may be properly call'd its own.

5. *Youth and Age compar'd.* When *Youth* and *Old Age* come to be weigh'd one againſt the other, it hath been uſual to give the Advantage to the latter: And moſt Authors ſpeak of Age with Honour and Reſpect, as having attain'd to greater degrees of Wiſdom, more maturity of Judgment, more Moderation and Temper: All which good Qualities are marvellouſly cry'd up, with a Deſign to put Youth out of Countenance, and to charge upon it the contrary Characters of Vice and Folly, Licentiouſneſs and Extravagance. But with the leave of thoſe, who have thus decided the Controverſie, I muſt take Liberty to declare, that this Verdict is in my Opinion very unjuſt: For, in good truth, the Defects and the Vices of Age are more in Number, worſe in Quality, and leſs to be reſiſted or recover'd, than thoſe that are peculiar to Youth. Years deform our Minds as much as our Bodies; bring Wrinkles there as well as in our Faces, and turn our Tempers

pers ſowre and mouldy with long keeping. The Soul keeps pace with the Body; Both are ſpent, and Both decay, till at laſt we grow ſo weak, ſo perfectly helpleſs, as in reſpect of both, to verifie that Proverb, of *Old Men* being *twice Children*. *Age* is a neceſſary, but a ſtrong Diſeaſe; it loads us inſenſibly with grievous Imperfections, and then contrives to cover the Shame of them with creditable Names. What is in effect no other than moroſeneſs of Humour, a peeviſh diſlike of the preſent Enjoyments, and Diſability to do as the Man did heretofore, paſſes for Wiſdom and Gravity, Experience, and an Inſight into the Vanity of the World. But Wiſdom is ſomewhat much more noble than all this comes to, and far above making uſe of ſuch mean Inſtruments. There is a vaſt difference between *growing older* and *growing wiſer*; between forſaking all Vice, and the changing one for another; and, as it often happens in this Caſe, changing for the Worſe. Old Age condemns the Pleaſures and Gaieties of Youth; but how much of this muſt be allowed to its not being now able to reliſh them any longer? It is like *Eſop*'s Dog, hates and deſpiſes what it cannot enjoy. But This is not to diſdain and give over Pleaſure; it is rather to be diſdain'd and given over by it. Pleaſure is always Airy and Entertaining; and theſe are Perſons no longer for its Turn. But why ſhould they caſt a Reflection upon That, which is due to themſelves? Why ſhou'd Impotence corrupt their Judgment? For this, if impartially conſulted, would tell Young Men, that there is Vice in their Pleaſures; and Old Men, that there is Pleaſure in Vice. And if this were rightly underſtood, and frankly confeſt, Youth would be a great deal the better, and Old Age not one whit the worſe.

The

each other, as the Waves of the Sea do in their Ebbings and Flowings; Trouble and Diſquiet are always at hand; but for Happineſs, we are cheated with the empty Shadow of it. Blindneſs and Inſenſibility take up the Beginning of our Lives; Labour and Anxious Care, the Middle; Weakneſs and Pain, the Latter End; but Ignorance and Error reach from the Beginning to the End: Theſe are inſeparable, and keep us Company quite through.

4. The *Life* of Man hath its Inconveniences and Miſeries of ſeveral ſorts. Some of them are in Common, extending to all Perſons, and all Times; Others are Peculiar and Succeſſive, and diſtinguiſh'd by the different Parts, and Age, and particular Seaſons and Accidents of Life: As Childhood, Youth, Maturity, Man's Eſtate, and Old Age; for Each of theſe hath its diſtinct Calamities; ſome Embaſements and Incumbrances, which may be properly call'd its own.

5. *Youth and Age compar'd.* When *Youth* and *Old Age* come to be weigh'd one againſt the other, it hath been uſual to give the Advantage to the latter: And moſt Authors ſpeak of Age with Honour and Reſpect, as having attain'd to greater degrees of Wiſdom, more maturity of Judgment, more Moderation and Temper: All which good Qualities are marvellouſly cry'd up, with a Deſign to put Youth out of Countenance, and to charge upon it the contrary Characters of Vice and Folly, Licentiouſneſs and Extravagance. But with the leave of thoſe, who have thus decided the Controverſie, I muſt take Liberty to declare, that this Verdict is in my Opinion very unjuſt: For, in good truth, the Defects and the Vices of Age are more in Number, worſe in Quality, and leſs to be reſiſted or recover'd, than thoſe that are peculiar to Youth. Years deform our Minds as much as our Bodies; bring Wrinkles there as well as in our Faces, and turn our Tem-

pers

pers ſowre and mouldy with long keeping. The Soul keeps pace with the Body; Both are ſpent, and Both decay, till at laſt we grow ſo weak, ſo perfectly helpleſs, as in reſpect of both, to verifie that Proverb, of *Old Men* being *twice Children*. *Age* is a neceſſary, but a ſtrong Diſeaſe; it loads us inſenſibly with grievous Imperfections, and then contrives to cover the Shame of them with creditable Names. What is in effect no other than moroſeneſs of Humour, a peeviſh diſlike of the preſent Enjoyments, and Diſability to do as the Man did heretofore, paſſes for Wiſdom and Gravity, Experience, and an Inſight into the Vanity of the World. But Wiſdom is ſomewhat much more noble than all this comes to, and far above making uſe of ſuch mean Inſtruments. There is a vaſt difference between *growing elder* and *growing wiſer*; between forſaking all Vice, and the changing one for another; and, as it often happens in this Caſe, changing for the Worſe. Old Age condemns the Pleaſures and Gaieties of Youth; but how much of this muſt be allowed to its not being now able to reliſh them any longer? It is like *Eſop*'s Dog, hates and deſpiſes what it cannot enjoy. But This is not to diſdain and give over Pleaſure; it is rather to be diſdain'd and given over by it. Pleaſure is always Airy and Entertaining; and theſe are Perſons no longer for its Turn. But why ſhould they caſt a Reflection upon That, which is due to themſelves? Why ſhou'd Impotence corrupt their Judgment? For this, if impartially conſulted, would tell Young Men, that there is Vice in their Pleaſures; and Old Men, that there is Pleaſure in Vice. And if this were rightly underſtood, and frankly confeſt, Youth would be a great deal the better, and Old Age not one whit the worſe.

The

The Vices more peculiar to *Youth* are, Raſhneſs and Heat; Forwardneſs, and an unguarded Converſation; Debauchery, and all manner of Senſual Exceſs. And theſe are in ſome Degree natural to that State; the Effects of Warmth and Vigour, and the Boilings of a Florid Blood: All which, as they need and ought to be corrected, ſo they have ſomething to ſay in their own Excuſe. But what Apology ſhall we make for the ill Qualities that attend *Old Age*? The lighteſt and leaſt of which are vain Arrogance and Pride; a troubleſome and peremptory way of Converſing, and an engroſſing all the Talk to themſelves; froward and unſociable Humours, Superſtition and Whimſie; Love of Riches when paſt the uſe of them; ſordid Avarice, and fear of Death; which generally is not (as ſome have favourably interpreted the Caſe) the effect of a cold Blood, and low Spirits, and of Courage damp'd by theſe Natural Cauſes; but it proceeds from long Cuſtom, and Acquaintance, and a fooliſh Fondneſs for the World; by which the Old Gentleman hath corrupted his Judgment, and hath a greater Tenderneſs for it, than young Men, who enjoy more, and know leſs of it. Beſides theſe, there are Envy, and Ill-Nature, and Injuſtice; but the moſt exquiſite and ridiculous Folly of all, is, that Affectation of a ſevere, and grave, and wiſe Character; and hoping to gain Reſpect and Deference, by an Auſtere Look, and Scornful Behaviour; which indeed does but provoke Laughter, and become it ſelf a Jeſt, while it pretends to extort Obſervance and Fear: For the Young Fellows combine together againſt this formal Auſterity, which they ſee put on only for a Diſguiſe; and with a deſign to amuſe and affright them into Reverence, where real Merit, which would engage it, is wanting. In ſhort, The Vices of Old Age are ſo numerous

on

on the One Hand, and the Infirmities of it on the Other, and Both together conſpire to render it ſo deſpicable, that the beſt and moſt ſaving Game it can play, is to ſecure Mens Affections, and to win them by Methods of Kindneſs, and Affability, and Good-Nature. For Churliſhneſs, and an Imperious Humour, and whatever aims at Fear and Dominion, are not by any means Weapons fit for Theſe Perſons to manage. The affecting ſo very much Awe, does by no means become them; and if the thing could really be compaſſed (which it rarely, or never is) yet they ſhould much rather chuſe to render themſelves Agreeable; and think the Love, and Reſpect, and Honour of young Perſons, more to be deſired, than the keeping them in Conſtraint and Fear, and Tyrannizing over all that converſe with them.

THE

THE

Fourth Conſideration

CONCERNS

Man, *with regard to his Manners, Humour, and Condition,* &c.

A general Draught of Man.

THE Ancient Sages, and as many as have apply'd themſelves to the ſtudy of Humane Nature, when they repreſent *Man* to us, have this remarkable Agreement among them, That in all their Draughts and Deſcriptions, their principal Lines are the ſame. For they All conſpire to paint him, as a Creature made up of theſe Four Things; *Vanity, Weakneſs, Inconſtancy,* and *Miſery.* They ſtyle him *They Prey of Time; The Sport and Geugaw of Fortune; The Image of Inconſtancy; The Pattern,* nay rather *the Prodigy of Weakneſs; the Balance of Envy and Miſery;* a *Dream;* a *Phantome; Duſt and Aſhes;* a *Vapour;* a *Morning-Dew;* a *Flower that preſently fadeth; in the Morning Green and growing up, in the Evening cut down, dry'd up, and withered;* a *Wind; Graſs;* a *Bubble;* a *Shadow;* a *Leaf born away by the Wind;* a *Sponge*

full

full of Excrements in his Beginning; a *Bundle of Infirmities and Miſeries in the Middle State*; *Rottenneſs and a Nuiſance, and Food for Worms, in his Latter End.* In a Word, The moſt *Deſpicable*, the moſt *Calamitous Part of the whole Creation. Job*, who was as well skill'd, and as much experienc'd in this Subject, as any Man ever was, hath drawn him at full length, in his true Colours and Proportions: And *Solomon* after him hath done the ſame in his Books. *Pliny*'s Piece of him is *in Little*, but extremely like the Original, when he calls him * The moſt wretched, and yet the proudeſt and moſt inſolent Creature in the whole World. Under the Former of theſe Attributes, (That of Wretched) he comprehends all the Characters already mention'd, and the Deſcriptions other Writers have given of him. The Second (That of Proudeſt) concerns another Head of very great Conſideration; and in theſe Two Words he ſeems to have comprized all that can be ſaid upon the Matter. Theſe Two Qualities, I confeſs, ſeem utterly inconſiſtent, and deſtructive of each other. For what in Appearance more diſtant, what more contradictious, than Emptineſs and Preſumption, than Miſery and Pride? So ſtrange, ſo monſtrous a Compoſition is *Man*, in which theſe wide Extremes are Ingredients.

Now the very different Parts whereof Man conſiſts, Body and Spirit, make it exceeding hard to give a tolerable Deſcription of him entire, and altogether. Some charge all that can be ſpoken in Diſparagement of Man, upon the Body, and repreſent him a moſt excellent Creature, complete and ſuperior to any other, in regard of

* Solum ut certum ſit nihil eſſe certi, nec miſerius quicquam homine aut ſuperbius.

his Mind. But this Method is ſo far from juſt, that, on the contrary, All that is truly ill, not in Man only, but in the whole World, is the Product and Contrivance of the Mind. And much the greateſt Part of the Vanity, Inconſtancy, Miſery, and Preſumption, with which Humane Nature is debaſed, reſides in this Part of us; which gave *Democritus* occaſion to call the Mind *An unknown World of Miſeries*; and *Plutarch* proves it by a Tract written on purpoſe, and upon this very Subject. This General Conſideration then, which regards Man in his own Nature, and in the Groſs, ſhall conſiſt of theſe Five Particulars: *Vanity, Weakneſs, Inconſtancy, Miſery*, and *Preſumption*; Which are indeed the moſt Natural, the moſt Inſeparable and Univerſal Qualities, of any that belong to him; tho' the Two laſt ſeem more intimately to concern, and touch him moſt to the quick. I add too, that there are ſome Things reducible to ſeveral of theſe Five Heads; and it is not eaſy to determine which of them they moſt properly belong to, particularly the Topicks of *Weakneſs* and *Miſery*, between which there is great Affinity and Reſemblance.

---

* Utrum graviores morbi animi quàm corporis. *Plut. Lib.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

I. *Vanity.*

OF all the Qualities that belong to Humane Nature, *Vanity* is the moſt Eſſential. The very Peculiar of Man, and Predominate over the reſt. For, whether we regard Moral Evil, or Misfortune, or Inconſtancy, or Irreſolution, or any other ill Property, (of which, God knows, this Soil always bears a blentiful Crop) yet it abounds in nothing ſo much as in Worthleſneſs, and Emptineſs; Senſeleſs Folly, and Ridiculous Vanity. Upon this Account *Democritus* was certainly more in the right, when he laugh'd at all Mankind, and treated them with Scorn and Contempt, than *Heraclitus* was, who wept and afflicted himſelf; and ſo expreſs'd ſome ſort of Eſteem for Men, as if he thought them worth his Trouble and Concern. And *Diogenes* took a better Courſe in reproaching and diſdaining them, than *Timon* did, who profeſs'd to hate Mankind, and fled away from all Converſation. *Pindar* hath given a livelier Image of This, than any Author beſides, in that bold Stroke, where he hath joyned the Two vaineſt Things in the World together, to finiſh his Idea, calling *Man* the *Dream of a Shadow.* This Conſideration hath driven ſome Wiſe Men to ſo very great a Contempt of Humane Nature, that when a Difficult, Bold, and Noble Undertaking was mention'd to them, they would frequently reply; That all the World was not worth a Man's giving himſelf any Trouble for it, ſo ſaid *Statilius* 1.

to *Brutus*, when they diſcourſed the Conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar*) That a Wiſe Man ought not to do any Thing upon any Account but his own. And that it was by no means fit, that Wiſe Men and Wiſdom ſhould ſuffer any Diſquiet, or be expos'd to any Hazard, for the Sake of Fools and Sots.

2. *Vanity of the Thoughts.* This Vanity hath great variety of Ways to expreſs it ſelf by. As, Firſt of all, In our Thoughts, and ſecret Conferences with our Selves, which are very often even worſe than vain, frivolous and ridiculous. And yet in theſe trifling Imaginations we ſpend a great deal of Time, and are not ſenſible of it. We enter upon them, continue in them, and come out of them again, without ever being conſcious of our Motions: Which makes the Vanity double, and argues great Inadvertency, and Diſregard of our ſelves Here is one walking in his Dining-Room full of Care to manage his Feet ſo, that each Turn may be compaſs'd with ſuch a Number of Steps, and that ſuch Parts of the Boards only may be trod upon: A Second forms, with great Seriouſneſs, long Harangues to himſelf, compoſes a Scene of Action, what he would ſay, and how he would maintain his Port, if he were a King, or a Pope, or ſome other Thing, which he is ſo far from, that he knows it is impoſſible he ever ſhould be ſuch. And thus he feeds upon Wind, nay, upon ſomewhat yet leſs ſubſtantial, upon a Thing that never had, nor ever will have, any ſort of Exiſtence. Another is taken up in Contrivance for the Management of his Perſon, the Affecting a particular Motion of his Body, an Air of his Face, a Singularity of Addreſs, odd Sentences, and uncommon Pronunciations; and This he is infinitely delighted with, as a Thing extremely graceful and engaging, and what other People muſt needs admire, and be taken with too. Then how prodigiouſly vain and fooliſh are we in our

Wiſhes

Wiſhes and Deſires; from whence ſpring our ridiculous Opinions, and our yet more ridiculous Hopes and Expectations? And This again, not only at ſuch times as we ſurfeit with Leiſure, and have no other Buſineſs to employ our Thoughts; but it very often interrupts our ſerious and moſt important Affairs, and breaks our Thread in the very Heat of Action. So *natural* is *Vanity* to us, and ſo *prevalent* over us, that it ſpirits us away, and plucks us forcibly from Truth and Solidity, and real Subſtance; to loſe us in Air, and Emptineſs, and Nothing.

3. *Concern for Futurity.*

But, of all Vanities, the moſt refined in Folly, is that anxious Care of what ſhall happen hereafter, when we are gone, and cannot feel it. We ſtretch our Deſires and Affections beyond our Perſons and Subſiſtence; and are much concerned for Things to be done to us, when we ſhall be in no Capacity of receiving them. How importunately do we covet Praiſe and Applauſe after Death? And how egregious a Folly is this? What can be vainer? This is not Ambition, as Men may be apt to imagine; for that deſires a ſenſible Honour, ſuch as a Man can enjoy, and reap ſome Benefit from. So far as our Good Name indeed is capable of doing Service to our Children, or Relations, or Friends, that ſtay behind, I own there is Uſe of it; and am content Men ſhould deſire it in Proportion to this Convenience. But to propoſe That, as our own Happineſs, which can never reach, or in any degree affect our ſelves, is meer Vanity. Such another Folly is Theirs, who perplex their Lives with Fears of their Wives marrying Second Husbands; and paſſionately deſire they wou'd continue ſingle; nay, are content to purchaſe the Gratification of this Whimſy, at a dear rate, by leaving in their Wills a great Part of their Eſtates to their Widows, upon this Condition. What an inſupportable Folly? and,

as it ſometimes falls out, what horrible Injuſtice is this? How directly the Reverſe of thoſe Heroick Spirits in Former Ages, who, upon their Death-Beds, adviſ'd their Wives to marry again, as ſoon as Decency and Prudence would permit; and to render themſelves uſeful by bringing Children to the Publick? Some again, conjure their Friends to wear ſuch a Ring, or a Lock of Hair, or ſome other Relick, as a conſtant Remembrance of them, when they are dead; or leave Directions for ſome particular Thing to be done about their own Bodies; What can we make of all this? Hath it not a very untoward Aſpect? Methinks, it looks, as if Men could be content to part with *Life*; but could not even then ſubmit to part with *Vanity* at any rate.

4. Another *Vanity* is this, That the Generality of Mankind live for Other People only, and not for Themſelves. We are not half ſo much concern'd what we really and truly are in our own Perſons and Diſpoſitions, as what the World takes us for, and how we ſtand in Character and Reputation abroad. And thus we frequently cheat our ſelves, and caſt away the true Happineſs and Advantages of Life, and do a thouſand inconvenient Things; tho' at the ſame time we torture our ſelves to be agreeable to the Standers-by, and to put on what we know is moſt in Vogue. And this is plainly ſo, not only in our Eſtates, and our Bodies; The Table, the Equipage, the Furniture, the Dreſs, the Figure, all adapted to the preſent Mode, and what the World expects from Perſons in our Circumſtances; But, which is a great deal worſe, and more deplorable; in the Advantages of the Mind the Obſervation holds too. For even Theſe are thought of no Uſe or Worth, unleſs they draw the Eyes and Approbation of other People. And Virtue it ſelf is neglected and diſeſteem'd, if it be not publickly

lickly acknowledged and commended: As if the Teſtimonies of ones own Breaſt were no Satiſfaction; As if thoſe Things which were given for our proper Uſe and Benefit, had loſt all their Efficacy, and changed their Nature, when Others do not ſee, and ſhare in them, as well as our Selves.

5. *Commotions of the Mind.*

Nor is our *Vanity* confin'd to ſimple Thoughts, and Deſires, and calm Diſcourſe; but it often riſes higher, puts both Body and Mind into violent Agitations and Pains. Men often teaze and torment themſelves more, for Matters of little or no Conſequence, than for thoſe which are of neareſt Concern, and upon which their All depends. Our Soul is frequently thrown into violent Diſorders, by little Whymſies, a meer Fancy, a Dream, a Shadow, an empty Amuſement, without Subſtance, without Ground; and works it ſelf up to all the Exceſſes of Anger and Revenge, Joy and Grief, and Confuſion; and all This with building Caſtles in the Air. The Ceremony of taking leave, the Idea of ſome particular Geſtures in a parting Friend, ſtrikes us deeper, and gives us more real Trouble, than all the Reaſoning in the World, upon Matters of greateſt Moment, is able to do. The Sound of a Name repeated, ſome certain Words and melancholy Accents pronounc'd pathetically; nay, dumb Sighs, and vehement Exclamations, go to our very Hearts. Tricks which all your former Haranguers, Enthuſiaſts, Buffoons, and Others, whoſe Trade it is to move the Paſſions, know, and practiſe in great Perfection. And this airy Blaſt ſometimes ſurprizes the moſt cautious, and tranſports the moſt reſolved, unleſs they ſet a more than common Guard upon themſelves. So ſtrong an Influence hath *Vanity*, and We ſo mighty a Tendency to it. Nay, as if it were not Reproach ſufficient

to be agitated and toſſed about with Toys and Trifles, even Falſhood and Cheat hath the ſame Effect, and (which is ſtrange) even when we know it is nothing but *Falſhood* and *Cheat*. Such Delight do we take, ſuch Induſtry do we uſe, to bubble our ſelves with our Eyes open, and to feed upon Fable and Nothing. * How *dextrous we are to deceive our ſelves*, we need no other Inſtances than thoſe that cry heartily, and fall into violent Paſſions upon hearing diſmal Stories, and ſeeing deep Tragedies, at the ſame time that they know the moving Parts of theſe to have been invented and compoſed for Entertainment and Diverſion, at the Diſcretion of the Romancer, or the Poet: Nay, ſome of them meer Fables; ſo far from Truth now, that they never were true in any Circumſtance at all. Shall I mention one *Vanity* more? That of a Wretch poſſeſs'd, fond and dying for Love of an ugly old Hag; One, whoſe Age and Deformity he knows, and knows that ſhe hates and deſpiſes him too; and, notwithſtanding all this, is bewitched with a painted Face, and Colours well laid; the Affectation of a Coquette, or ſome other Impoſture, which he ſees and confeſſes to be an Impoſture; and all the while runs mad, and owns no other Charm, but what he perfectly ſees thro' the Fallacy of.

Viſits and Matters of Civility.

6. But to ſhew you what Footing *Vanity* hath got, and how cloſe it ſticks to Humane Nature; we will now paſs from private Deportment and Diſpoſitions, to Publick Converſation; by which This will plainly appear, to be no particular and perſonal *Defect*, but the *Vice* of the whole Species in common. And here, what *Vanity*, what Loſs of Time

* Ad fallendum noſmet ipſos ingenioſiſſimi ſumus.

may

may we obſerve in the Impertinencies of Viſits, Howd'you's, Forms of Addreſs, mutual Entertainments; in the Offices of Civility, ſet Speeches, and Ceremonious Behaviour; in Proffers of Service, in Promiſes, and Praiſes? How many fulſome Strains of Complement, what Infinite Hypocriſie, Falſhood and Deceit? How open and barefac'd, ſo that the Perſon that utters it, and he to whom it is directed, and every one that ſtands by, ſees and knows, and is ſatisfied it is falſe? Thus Converſation is now become little elſe, than a Tryal of Skill for Diſſimulation; and looks like a common Confederacy, where Men have combin'd together to lye, and bubble, and abuſe, and make a Jeſt of one another. Nay, good Manners require, that at the ſame time a Man tells you an impudent Lye, you ſhould return him your Thanks, for what you know he intends not a word of; and He again, who is ſatisfied you believe not a Syllable of what he ſays, receives thoſe Acknowledgments of yours with a ſet Face, and an Air of Confidence; and thus you ſtand cringing, and fawning, and dodging for the laſt Word; each ſtriving to begin, and fearing to leave off, and ſhrugging, when both are heartily weary, and would fain be well quit of one another. What Inconveniences are we content to endure for theſe Formalities? We expoſe our Selves to the Air, to Heat, to Cold; diſturb the Peace of our Lives, and are in perpetual Pain for theſe courtly Follies; We neglect our Buſineſs of Weight and Conſequence, and attend upon Wind and Smoke. We are vain at the Expence of our Eaſe, nay, of our Health, of our very Life. And what can prove Mankind more enſlav'd to *Vanity* than This, That *Levity* and Accident tramples *Subſtance* under Foot, and Air carries away ſolid Body, whither it will? Eſpecially, when a Man

that

that behaves himſelf otherwiſe, muſt be look'd upon as a Sot, and a Fool, one that knows nothing of the World, nor what becomes him to do in it: Thus to play this Farce dextrouſly, is the greateſt Mark of Wit; and the moſt affected *Harlequin* in it, is the fineſt Gentleman; but not to be Vain is contemptible Stupidity, and he that declines playing the Fool, betrays his own want of Senſe and good Breeding. Nay, when there is no need of all this Form and Complaiſance, *Vanity* hangs about us ſtill: Witneſs the freer Diſcourſes of the moſt familiar Acquaintance, and intimate Friends. How many trifling Impertinences, Falſhoods, Banters, (I omit the wicked and miſchievous Part, becauſe that falls not under this Head) How many arrogant and vain Boaſtings go to the making up this ſort of Converſation too? Men are ſo induſtrious to take, to ſeek, to make occaons of Talking of themſelves, or of ſomewhat that belongs to them; They do it with ſo ſenſible, and yet ſo nauſeous a Pleaſure; if they think they have ſaid or done a good thing, or that ſomewhat they are poſſeſt of is better than ordinary, They are ſo uneaſie till they have publiſh'd and enlarg'd upon it; as if all their Wit and Worth were loſt, unleſs other People were made ſenſible of it too: They catch at the very firſt Convenience, cry it up to the greateſt Degree imaginable; nay, they perfectly bring it in by Head and Shoulders, and interrupt all other Diſcourſe to ſtart This: And when any Body elſe is Talking, we preſently thruſt our ſelves in, and take an Advantage of ſhewing our Parts; ſo eager are we that People ſhou'd underſtand what we are, and have a regard for us; and not for Us only, but for every thing that we have a regard for.

As

As a yet greater Demonſtration, how abſolute a Sovereignty *Vanity* hath obtain'd over Humane Nature, we need but recollect the moſt conſiderable Revolutions that ever happen'd in the World, and the Occaſions of them: For thus it will ſoon appear, that the moſt general and moſt formidable Convulſions of Cities and Kingdoms, and whole Empires; the Seditions, and Revolts, and Fates of Armies; the bloodieſt Battels, the barbarouſeſt Murders, the ſharpeſt Diſputes, and moſt implacable Quarrels, have proceeded from very trifling, ridiculous, and inſignificant Cauſes. Witneſs the long War between *Troy* and *Greece*, the Piques of *Sylla* and *Marius*, and all the Confuſions that follow'd from thence, in the Civil Wars of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*. The Poets have repreſented this well enough, by pretending an Apple to have been the *Boutefeu*; the Original of all that Blood and Devaſtation in *Aſia* and *Greece*. And indeed the firſt Springs, upon which theſe vaſt Events move, are commonly Things of no conſideration; but That which begins very ſmall, ſwells to a vaſt Bulk afterwards; and the blowing it up thus, is an irrefragable Proof of the Vanity and Folly of Mankind. Nay, many times an occaſional Thing goes further with us than the principal Cauſe; and ſome paltry little Circumſtances make more ſenſible Impreſſions, and gall us more than the main Matter to which they retain; as *Cæſar*'s Robe put *Rome* into greater Paſſion and Concern, than his Death it ſelf, and the Two and twenty Stabs in his Body had done before.

7. *Publick Commotions.*

The Laſt, and indeed the moſt exquiſite *Vanity*, is our ſeeking with ſo much Induſtry and Paſſion, and pleaſing our ſelves ſo highly, nay, placing our very *Happineſs* in Advantages, which have neither real Worth, nor Neceſſity to recommend Them:

8. *Notions of Happineſs and Content.*

But

But as they are trifling and frivolous in themſelves, ſo they are ſuch as we may be very happy, and live very comfortably and conveniently without. Whereas on the other hand, thoſe that are neceſſary, and eſſential to our true Happineſs, find little or no part of the Regard due to them; and every Body is indifferent whether he hath Them or not. Thus the Condition of Man is all Air and Speculation; His whole *Happineſs* imaginary; Opinion and Dream is all he purſues; and in this he ſtands Alone, and cannot match himſelf in the whole World. *God* hath all *Good* in Eſſence and Reality, and *Evil* in Notion and Underſtanding only. *Man*, on the contrary, hath only fantaſtical *Good*, but his *Evils* are weighty and ſubſtantial. *Beaſts* are not ſatisfy'd with Opinion, nor do They feed upon Fancy, but require ſomewhat that is preſent, and ſenſible, and real, to content them. *Vanity* is reſerv'd to Man for his Portion, the Inheritance and peculiar Right of his Nature. He runs, he buſtles, he fights, he dies, he flies, he purſues; he graſps at a Shadow, he worſhips the Wind; he ſweats and toils all Day, and in the Evening, when his Gains come to be computed, a Mote is all the Wages he receives for his Work.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

II. *Weakneſs.*

WE are now advancing to the Second Head, under which Humane Nature is to be conſidered; and This cannot be any Surprize, after what hath been ſaid already. For how ſhould ſo much Vanity be otherwiſe than Feeble and Frail? Accordingly, this Frailty is frankly confeſſed by all People, and ſeveral Inſtances of it reckoned up, which are too Plain not to be diſcerned: But then it is not obſerved in its due Proportion, nor in all Caſes where it really hath a Part; as in thoſe, for Inſtance, which ſeem to have more of *Strength*, and a leſs Mixture of *Weakneſs*; ſuch as Deſire; The Uſe and Enjoyment of what a Man is poſſeſt of; In his Good and his Evil; in ſhort, ſuch as Man takes a Pride in, and values himſelf upon. And yet, even Theſe ſuppoſed Glories and Excellencies of his Nature, are undeniable Arguments of his Weakneſs. This may poſſibly ſeem a Paradox at firſt Sight; but a few particular Reflections, will give us a clearer and more diſtinct View of the Thing. 1.

Firſt, As for Deſires; It is manifeſt a Man cannot fix upon any Thing, not even in Wiſh and Imagination, ſo as to ſit down with That, and reſt himſelf contented. We have it not in our Power, to Chuſe what is neceſſary, and fit for us; nor to ſay, in Particular, what This would be. And if Providence in Wiſdom and Kindneſs, beſtow what we deſire, and what really is fit, upon us, yet it does not ſatisfie. We are Eternally gaping at ſome- 2. *In deſiring and chuſing.*

what

what Future and Unknown; and find, that what is preſent never fills, never contents; but what we have not, is ever eſteemed above it. Could we ſuppoſe a Man ſo far indulged, that a Blank ſhould be put into his Hands, to write his own Terms; yet even that Fortune of his own Carving, would not be ſo to his Palate, but that in a ſhort time he would retract it; ſome Alterations and Amendments, ſomething to be added or taken away: In ſhort, he deſires he knows not what. How well ſoever the Particulars may pleaſe, yet when the Account comes to be ſummed up, nothing contents him; for, to ſay the Truth, he is uneaſie, and diſcontented with his own ſelf.

3. *In Uſing and Enjoying.* His *Weakneſs* is ſtill greater, and more conſpicuous, in the Uſe and Enjoyment of what he hath, than in the Deſire of what he hath not; and that in ſeveral Reſpects. Firſt, in that he cannot manage, nor reap the Benefit of Things as they really are, and in their Native Purity; but there is a Neceſſity of diſguiſing, and adulterating them, that they may be accommodated to our Purpoſe. Elements, Metals, and other Things in their Primitive Simplicity are perfectly uſeleſs to us; Pleaſures and Delights, are never to be enjoyed without a Mixture of Pain and Inconvenience.

* —— *For ſtill ſome bitter Thought deſtroys*
Our fancied Mirth, and Poiſons all our Joys. Creech.

Extremity of Pleaſure, carries with it an Air of Melancholy and Complaint; and the higheſt Gratifications of Senſe, are Weakneſs, and Faintings: And that which gives true and perfect Content-

* —— Medio de fonte leporum.
Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipſis floribus angat. *Lucret.* L. 4.

ment

ment hath much more Solidity, and a ſevere Satisfaction, than of Gaiety and Tranſport in it.

† *Even* Happineſs, *it ſelf, if it do not moderate it ſelf, oppreſſes and deſtroys it ſelf.* Which gave occaſion to one of the Ancients to ſay, *That God ſold us all the good Things we receive from him*; meaning, that none of them are Pure and Unmingled; and we cannot be ſaid to have That *gratis*, for which we pay the Price of that Evil and Uneaſineſs which attends it. The Caſe is directly the ſame with *Grief* too, for This is never without ſome ſort of Pleaſure annexed to it. || *Pleaſure and Pain, tho' in their Natures the moſt unlike that can be, are yet ſo contrived, by Nature, as to be conſtant Companions, and go Hand in Hand*———

Even Tears are ſhed for Pleaſure and Relief,
And Humorous Man turns Epicure in Grief.

Thus all Things in this World are mingled and tempered with their Contraries; and it is not amiſs to obſerve, what Maſters in Painting teach us, That the very ſame Motions and Muſcles of the Face, are employed both in Lauging and Crying. And common Experience ſhews us, that exceſſive Laughter brings Tears. There is no good Quality in us, without ſome Tincture of Vice, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper Place hereafter; nor is there any Evil, without ſome abatement of Good *. Every Misfortune is capable of being turned to Advantage; there is no Good without Evil, no Evil without Good in Man; every Thing is a Mixture, and nothing comes to our Hands ſincere and

† Ipſa felicitas ſe niſi temperat, premit.

|| Labor voluptaſque diſſimillima naturâ, ſocietate quadam naturali inter ſe ſunt juncta; eſt quædam flere voluptas.

* Nullum ſine authoramento malum eſt.

unmin-

unmingled. *Secondly*, All that happens to us, is miſmanaged, and taken by the wrong Handle; Our Palates are humourſom and uncertain, and know not how to reliſh Things as they ought; and from This variety of Taſtes, it is, That the endleſs Diſputes, and Inreconcilable Opinions, concerning the *Chief Good*, have proceeded. The very beſt Things, oftentimes, decay and die upon our Hands; are corrupted by our Weakneſs, or our Wickedneſs; or are loſt and come to nothing, for want of Ability to make the Beſt of them; nay, ſometimes they do not only turn to No Account, but to a very Ill One; and what is Good in it ſelf, proves to Us, a mighty Evil, and manifeſt Diſadvantage.

4. *In Good and Evil.* But the Weakneſs of Humane Nature is moſt copiouſly diſplay'd, with regard to Good and Evil, to Virtue and Vice. My Meaning is, That a Man with all his Induſtry and Endeavours, cannot be entirely Good, nor entirely Wicked. He is Maſter of nothing, in ſhort. Upon this occaſion we will conſider Three Points. The firſt is, That it is not poſſible to exerciſe every kind of Virtue; The Reaſon is, that ſome of them are incompatible, and can never dwell together; the ſame Perſons, and the ſame Circumſtances, are not capable of them. As for Inſtance, The Chaſtity of a Virgin, and that of a Widow; the Virtues of a Single, and thoſe of a Married Life; Theſe Latter in each Kind, Widowhood and Marriage, being Conditions of much more Encumbrance, and Trouble, more Difficulty, and therefore more Virtue, than the quiet, and undiſturbed State of Celibacy and Virginity; though Thoſe on the other hand, have the Advantage in Purity, and Grace, and Freedom from Buſineſs and Care. The Conſtancy and Greatneſs of Mind, which exerts it ſelf in Poverty and Want, in Affliction and Pain, is very

I. *Virtue and Vice.* *See Advertiſements at the End of the Chapter.*

ry different from that which preſerves a Man's Temper in Proſperity and Plenty; and the Patience and Thankfulneſs of the Receiving Beggar, from the Liberality of the Giver. And as This holds in Virtues, ſo does it much more in Vices, ſeveral of which are not only very far diſtant, but diametrically oppoſite to each other.

5. It is no leſs obſervable, Secondly, That many times our Matters are ſo order'd, as not to permit the Performance of ſuch Actions as relate to One Virtue, without encroaching upon ſome Other, and doing what is inconſiſtent with, or offenſive to that very Virtue we are practiſing; becauſe Things often interfere and obſtruct us, ſo that we cannot ſatisfy One Duty, but at the Expence of Another. This is like what our Proverb calls *Robbing Peter to pay Paul*; and yet thus it is; not from any Deficiency in Virtue it ſelf, but from the Impotence and Inſufficiency of Humane Nature, which is too ſhort, too narrow, to give or receive any certain, conſtant, univerſal Rule of acting virtuouſly; and Man cannot ſo contrive his Methods, and provide himſelf with Helps, and Occaſions of doing Good, but that they will frequently croſs and interrupt one another. Thus *Charity* and *Juſtice* are ſometimes impracticable at once. If I engage againſt my Relation, or my Friend, in a Battle, *Juſtice* requires me to take his Life, and treat him as an Adverſary; *Charity* and Affection bid me ſpare and preſerve him as a Friend. Suppoſe a Man mortally wounded, and that he hath nothing to expect, but the languiſhing out the miſerable Remains of Life in extreme Torture; it were certainly an Act of Charity to put this wretched Creature out of his Pain, by killing him out-right, as the Perſon who kill'd *Saul* alledg'd for himſelf; and yet this is ſuch a Mercy as Juſtice would call one to an Account for; and

David puniſhed it accordingly. Nay, the being found near ſuch a Perſon in a lonely Place, when Search is made for the Murderer, tho' one be there with Intentions of Kindneſs, is exceeding dangerous; and the leaſt that can come of it, is, the being made to undergo the Courſe of the Law; and brought upon Trial for a Misfortune which one had no Hand in. And this laſt Inſtance ſhews, how *Juſtice* does not only offend againſt *Charity*, but alſo how it entangles and obſtructs it ſelf, according to that moſt true Obſervation. * *The Extremity of Right is the Extremity of Wrong.*

6. The Third Caſe, and indeed, the moſt remarkable of all, is, The Neceſſity Men are ſometimes under of uſing Evil Means to deliver themſelves from ſome greater Evil; or for the compaſſing ſome Good End. So that Things in themſelves not Good, nay, much otherwiſe, are ſometimes legitimated, and have Credit and Authority given to them, for the Sake of the Purpoſes they ſerve: As if Men might, nay, as if they muſt, be Wicked in ſome degree, in Order to becoming Good in a greater. And this not only Policy and Juſtice, but Religion too, furniſhes Examples of.

7. In *Politicks*, How many indirect Practices are
II *Politicks* allow'd, and daily made uſe of? And this not merely upon Permiſſion and Connivence, but even by expreſs Direction and Approbation of the Laws. † *Crimes are eſtabliſh'd by Publick Edicts*, as we ſhall have Occaſion to obſerve more at large in another Place. When a State is full and overgrown, like a replete Body, whoſe Humours are either too noxious, or too many to be endured; the Method of diſcharging this Oppreſſion, is, to ſend off its Superfluities of Men, or thoſe among

Book III. Chap. 2.

* Summum Jus ſumma Injuria.

† Ex Senatus conſultis & plebiſcitis ſcelera exercentur.

them,

them, who are of the hotteſt and warlike Diſpoſitions, to be knock'd on the Head abroad. Thus a Vein is breath'd; but the Eaſe it gives, is at the infinite Expence and Trouble of ſome other Country. And this we know hath been the Practice of *Franks* and *Lombards*, *Goths*, and *Vandales*, *Turks* and *Tartars*. So again, a Foreign War is often begun and maintain'd abroad, on purpoſe to keep buſy Spirits employ'd, and to prevent Inſurrections and Civil Diſſentions at Home. *Lycurgus*, as a Leſſon of Temperance, uſed to make Slaves drunk; that Men of Quality, from Their Extravagances, might learn to deteſt this Vice. The *Romans*, to harden their People, and make Dangers and Death familiar and contemptible, inſtituted thoſe Inhumane Sights of their Gladiators, and entertain'd them with Blood and Slaughter every Day. This at firſt, indeed, was confin'd to condemn'd Malefactors only; then it came to innocent Slaves; and at laſt Free-Men, and People of Condition, practis'd, and valu'd themſelves upon it. The Stews in ſome great Cities, are of the ſame kind; and ſo are the Uſury, the Divorces of the Law of *Moſes*, and among other People and Perſuaſions; Whoſe only Recommendation is this, That they are allowed for a preſent Neceſſity, and to put a Stop to greater Miſchiefs.

So likewiſe in *Juſtice*, which cannot ſubſiſt nor be put in Practice, without ſome Mixture of *Injuſtice*. Nor is this the Caſe of *Commutative Juſtice* only, This were no ſtrange Matter; for here it is in ſome ſort neceſſary; Men could not live by their Trades, nor maintain Commerce with one another, without ſome reciprocal Injuries and Offences; every Man muſt ſell a Thing for more than it is ſtrictly worth; and therefore ſome Laws have allow'd Men to cheat, provided it be not above

8. III. *Juſtice.*

half the Price of the Goods: But *Diſtributive Juſtice*, which conſiſts in dealing Rewards and Puniſhments, does the like; ſo ſhe her ſelf confeſſes, * *Extreme Right is extreme Wrong.* And *All eminent exemplary Caſes have ſome Allay of Injuſtice in them; wherein, however, the Hardſhips which Private Men ſuffer, are well paid with the Advantages that accrue to the Publick from them.* *Plato* allows, in ſeveral Places, that Publick Miniſters ſhould draw Criminals to a full Diſcovery, by falſe Hopes and Promiſes of Pardon and Favour, which they never intend to make good. Which is to make a way to Juſtice thro' Impudence, and Cozenage, and Falſhood. And what ſhall we ſay of that curſed Invention of Racks, which are a Trial of Patience indeed, but none at all of Truth? For you ſhall never be able to get the Truth out of Them that can, nor out of Them that cannot, endure them. Why ſhou'd we think Extremity of Pain can more diſpoſe a Man to tell what is, than to tell what is not? If an Innocent Man be ſuppos'd endu'd with Patience enough to bear the Torture, why ſhou'd the Concern for ſaving his Life inſpire a guilty Perſon with the ſame degree of Reſolution? I know it is commonly reply'd in Excuſe of this Barbarity, That the Pain aſtoniſhes and enfeebles the Guilty, and extorts a Confeſſion of his Treachery from him; whereas it hath the quite contrary Effects of confirming and fortifying the Innocent. But the contrary of this happens ſo often, that to ſpeak the Truth, This is an enſnaring and a pitiful Method; a poor and baſe way of Dealing, full of Doubt and Uncertainty. For what would not a

* Summum Jus ſumma Injuria. Et Omne magnum Exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod contra ſingulos Utilitate publicâ rependitur.

Man

Man ſay or do to get quit of ſuch Miſery? * *Pain extorts Lies from the moſt Innocent*; ſo that a Judge, which examines upon the Rack, to prevent the Death of Innocent Perſons, firſt racks the Innocent, and then murders him. Many a thouſand People have loaded themſelves with falſe Accuſations. But were it not ſo, what intolerable Injuſtice and Cruelty is it to torture and break a Man to pieces, for a Fault which as yet there is no Proof of? To avoid killing him without Cauſe, they do ten times worſe than kill him. If he be innocent, and bear it out, What Juſtice can there be in putting him to any Pain at all? You'll ſay, By bearing the Rack he is abſolv'd; I thank you very kindly. But This, however, tho' an Evil, is the leaſt Humane Infirmity could contrive; and yet this is not practiſed every where neither. I confeſs, to Me, the Cuſtom of determining Controverſies, and clearing Men's Innocence by Combat, ſeems to have leſs of Injuſtice and Barbarity in it. And yet This, tho' formerly much in requeſt, is long ſince very juſtly condemn'd and exploded. For Chriſtianity allows no ſuch bloody Methods, nor warrants any Dependence upon them, for a Diſcovery of the Truth.

But if *Man* be ſo weak (as we have ſeen) in regard of Virtue, and in his *Practical* Capacity; he is much more ſo in his *Intellectual*, and in relation to *Truth*. 'Tis prodigious, that Man ſhould be ſo form'd by Nature, as to deſire Truth eagerly, and grudge no Pains to attain it; and yet ſo at the ſame time, as not to bear it when it offers it ſelf to his View. The Flaſhes of it blind him, the Thunder of it ſtuns him; it is too bright, and too loud to be born. This is not Truth's Fault however, which is exceeding beautiful, exceeding love- 9. V. *Truth.*

* Etenim Innocentes mentiri cogit Dolor.

ly, exceeding good and beneficial to Mankind; and what was ſaid of *Virtue* and *Wiſdom*, is at leaſt as properly applicable to *Truth*; * *That could we behold all its Charms, the whole World would be infinitely in love with it.* But the Defect is on Man's ſide; his Faculties cannot bear ſo ſtrong a Light; its Beams dazzle, nay, hurt his Senſes. In Affairs merely Humane, he that ſets it before us is eſteem'd our Enemy. Truth and plain-dealing are diſobliging Things. And what Perverſeneſs is this? that what we love and ſeek ſo paſſionately, we ſhould be ſo loth, ſo angry to find? Truth is not only amiable, but knowable too, yet not perfectly ſo by Us; for at preſent it ſeems Man is only ſtrong in Deſire, but weak in his Enjoyment of it; and not able to receive what he deſires. The Two chief Means made uſe of to bring him to the Knowledge of the Truth, are *Reaſon* and *Experience*. But both theſe are inſufficient, and ſo very weak, (tho' of the two, *Experience* ſeems the more ſo) that no certain Concluſions can be drawn from them. *Reaſon* hath ſo many Tricks and Turnings, is ſo flexible in its Arguments, and ſo diſguis'd in its Forms, that any thing may be made plauſible from it; (as will be obſerv'd in another Place) *Experience* is no leſs fallible, becauſe Events are conſtantly unlike one another. Nothing in Nature is ſo univerſal as Diſparity; nothing ſo rare, ſo difficult, ſo impoſſible indeed, as Likeneſs: And nothing argues greater Weakneſs, and want of Judgment, than the not being able to diſcern and diſtinguiſh the Difference. This, however, is to be underſtood of ſuch a Likeneſs and ſuch a Diverſity as is perfect, and holds in every Circumſtance: For indeed both Similitude and Diſſimilitude are every where in ſome reſpect and degree. No Two Things are in

* Quæ ſi oculis cerneretur, mirabiles ſui amores excitaret. *Cic. of* l. 1.

every

every regard like; none in all reſpects unlike one another. So exceedingly ingenious hath Nature approv'd her ſelf in the Mixture and Compoſition of the World.

But, after all, What can make more full Diſcoveries of Humane *Infirmity*, than *Religion* it ſelf hath done? Its main Intention and End is to lower Man in his own Eſteem; to ſhew, and make him duly ſenſible, how *wicked*, how *weak*, how *mere a Nothing* he is; and, in this humble Senſe, to drive him to God for Succour and Support, who is, indeed, his *Happineſs*, his *Refuge* and *Strength*; nay, his *All*. The firſt Method taken to inculcate theſe mean Notions of our Selves, is by inſtructing, reminding, upbraiding us; ſetting before us the reproachful Titles of *Duſt and Aſhes*, *Earth*, *Fleſh and Blood*, *Graſs*, and the like.

After that, it inſinuates this Truth after a moſt noble, and excellent, and ſtupendous manner; introducing God, humbling, debaſing himſelf, and becoming weak for the ſake of Man; ſpeaking, expoſtulating, entreating, promiſing, ſwearing, growing angry, threatning; and, in a Word, entring into Treaty and Terms, and managing him by all the endearing Arts of Perſuaſion, in the ſame tender, kind, condeſcending Methods, with which a fond Father wins and gains upon his Children, by ſtooping to their little Follies, and imitating their Infant-Imperfections. So very great it ſeems, ſo inſuperable was the Weakneſs of Humane Nature, that no Acceſs could be attain'd, no Correſpondence held with the Divinity, till God himſelf was pleas'd to make the firſt Approaches; and by deſcending to our Capacities, and our Level, to draw us nearer to himſelf. While He continu'd in his Native Majeſty, the Diſtance was too vaſt; and therefore the only way to bring Us up to Heaven, was for God to come down upon Earth.

But ſtill This does not by any means infer, that God took Pleaſure in theſe things, as of any real Intrinſick Worth and Good in themſelves; For even before Grace and Truth ſet this Matter in its cleareſt Light by the Goſpel, the Prophets were not ſparing to declare the Contrary; and Thoſe among the *Jews* of more enlightened Underſtandings, ſaw this perfectly well, and acknowledged it, even while the Practice of offering them continu'd. Thus *David*; *Thou deſireſt no Sacrifice, elſe would I give it thee, but thou delighteſt not in Burnt-Offerings. Burnt-Offering and Sacrifice for Sin haſt thou not requir'd.* And again, ſpeaking in the Perſon of God himſelf, *I will take no Bullock out of thy Houſe, nor He-Goat out of thy Folds.* They call'd upon Men for Oblations of another kind, more Noble and Spiritual; more becoming Them to bring, and more worthy and fit for a Holy Deity to receive. *The Sacrifice of God is a Contrite Spirit, and the Offering of a pure Heart: Mine Ears haſt thou opened, that I ſhould do thy Will; yea thy Law is within my Heart. Offer unto God the Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving; I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice.* And many other Paſſages to the ſame Purpoſe. And at laſt, to clear this Matter, and put it beyond a Doubt, the Son of God himſelf, who was *Truth*, and the Teacher of it, and who condeſcended to come into the World, that he might diſabuſe Mankind, and reſcue them from their Ignorance and Errors, hath utterly aboliſh'd this way of ſerving God: which he wou'd never have done, had there been any *Eſſential Goodneſs* in it, which cou'd have recommended it for its own ſake to God his Father. But when He was come to be the End of the Law, and the Univerſal Propitiation, the Uſe of Sacrifices was at an End too; and then it is, *They that worſhip God muſt worſhip him in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father*

Pſal. li.

Pſal. xl.

Pſal. l.

John iv. 23, 24.

ſee into the Myſterious End of them; which the Generality of the *Jews* themſelves never did; and much leſs cou'd it be expected that the *Pagan* World ſhou'd penetrate into it.

It is true, indeed, Almighty God, in great Grace and Compaſſion to thoſe more early and ignorant Ages of the World, which knew no better; did very favourably accept Good Men, when they approached him with this ſort of Devotion; and the Apoſtle takes particular Notice of his having *Reſpect to Abel and his Offering*; as the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament does, of his teſtifying that Acceptance by viſible Signs, in the Caſe of *Noah*, *Abraham*, and Others. There being this Motive to his Mercy, that what was done of that kind proceeded from an Intention to ſerve and honour him; and that the Underſtandings of Men were groſs and heavy; they were in their Minority, and under a *Schoolmaſter*, (as St. *Paul* expreſſes it of the *Jewiſh* People) but at the ſame time honeſt and well-meaning: And it is not improbable, that this Opinion, ſo univerſal at That time, might repreſent Sacrifices to them, as a Dictate of the Law of Nature, and the only proper Method of Divine Worſhip. Heb. xi.

There was, it is confeſſed, another Conſideration, which rendred *Sacrifices* very valuable and well-pleaſing to God; whereby they were made uſe of, as *Figures* and Repreſentations of that One truly meritorious *Sacrifice*, to be offer'd upon the Altar of the Croſs afterwards. But this is a Myſtery peculiar to the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Religion. And as it is a Common, ſo is it an Excellent and Adorable Inſtance of the Divine Wiſdom, to convert what is of Human Inſtitution, Natural Uſage, or of a Corporeal Nature, to High and Holy Purpoſes, and make ſuch things as the Ceremonial Law conſiſted of, turn to a Spiritual Account.

But

But ſtill This does not by any means infer, that God took Pleaſure in theſe things, as of any real Intrinſick Worth and Good in themſelves; For even before Grace and Truth ſet this Matter in its cleareſt Light by the Goſpel, the Prophets were not ſparing to declare the Contrary; and Thoſe among the *Jews* of more enlightened Underſtandings, ſaw this perfectly well, and acknowledged it, even while the Practice of offering them continu'd. Thus *David*; *Thou deſireſt no Sacrifice, elſe would I give it thee, but thou delighteſt not in Burnt-Offerings. Burnt-Offering and Sacrifice for Sin haſt thou not requir'd.* And again, ſpeaking in the Perſon of God himſelf, *I will take no Bullock out of thy Houſe, nor He-Goat out of thy Folds.* They call'd upon Men for Oblations of another kind, more Noble and Spiritual; more becoming Them to bring, and more worthy and fit for a Holy Deity to receive. *The Sacrifice of God is a Contrite Spirit, and the Offering of a pure Heart: Mine Ears haſt thou opened, that I ſhould do thy Will; yea thy Law is within my Heart. Offer unto God the Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving; I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice.* And many other Paſſages to the ſame Purpoſe. And at laſt, to clear this Matter, and put it beyond a Doubt, the Son of God himſelf, who was *Truth*, and the Teacher of it, and who condeſcended to come into the World, that he might diſabuſe Mankind, and reſcue them from their Ignorance and Errors, hath utterly aboliſh'd this way of ſerving God: which he wou'd never have done, had there been any *Eſſential Goodneſs* in it, which cou'd have recommended it for its own ſake to God his Father. But when He was come to be the End of the Law, and the Univerſal Propitiation, the Uſe of Sacrifices was at an End too; and then it is, *They that worſhip God muſt worſhip him in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father*

Pſal. li.

Pſal. xl.

Pſal. l.

John iv. 23, 24.

ther ſeeketh ſuch to worſhip him. And without Queſtion, next to the extirpating Idolatry, This of aboliſhing Sacrifices, is One of the moſt Glorious, Publick Effects; One of the beſt Reformations, which Chriſtianity hath wrought in the World. And hence it was, that *Julian*, the Emperor, its moſt profeſſed, moſt inveterate Enemy, in Deſpight to it, offered more *Sacrifices*, than perhaps any other Man ever did; and endeavoured to introduce This Way of Worſhip, and Idolatry again, as being both directly in Contradiction to the Chriſtian Religion. But of This we have ſpoken ſufficiently; and therefore let us now take a ſhort View of ſome of the other conſiderable Branches of Religion.

The *Bleſſed Sacraments*, when Adminiſtred to us in Elements ſo common, and of ſuch mean eſteem, as *Bread* and *Wine*, and *Water*; and not only ſo, but in the very Act of Adminiſtration, bearing Reſemblance to the moſt Vulgar and Deſpicable Actions of Life, as *Wiſhing*, *Eating* and *Drinking*, are plain *Memento's* of our continual Weakneſſes, and Wants, our Miſeries and Pollutions. And as the marvellous Efficacy magnifies the Almighty Power and Goodneſs of God, ſo the Need we have of them, ſhould humble us, with mortifying Reflections upon our own feeble Condition.

Thus again, *Repentance* is preſcribed, as the neceſſary, the only Remedy for our Spiritual Diſeaſes; and 'tis plain, This, conſidered in it ſelf, is an Act full of Shame and Reproach; it upbraids us with our Faults and Follies; afflicts our Souls with Grief and ſad Remorſe; and ſhews us to our Selves in the worſt, and moſt deformed Figures, that can be: But, however Evil and Uncomely this may ſeem in it ſelf, yet it is Neceſſary for reconciling us to God, and That is enough to reconcile Us to it. Another Inſtance may be taken

But ſtill This does not by any means infer, that God took Pleaſure in theſe things, as of any real Intrinſick Worth and Good in themſelves; For even before Grace and Truth ſet this Matter in its cleareſt Light by the Goſpel, the Prophets were not ſparing to declare the Contrary; and Thoſe among the *Jews* of more enlightened Underſtandings, ſaw this perfectly well, and acknowledged it, even while the Practice of offering them continu'd. Thus *David*; *Thou deſireſt no Sacrifice, elſe would I give it thee, but thou delighteſt not in Burnt-Offerings. Burnt-Offering and Sacrifice for Sin haſt thou not requir'd.* And again, ſpeaking in the Perſon of God himſelf, *I will take no Bullock out of thy Houſe, nor He-Goat out of thy Folds.* They call'd upon Men for Oblations of another kind, more Noble and Spiritual; more becoming Them to bring, and more worthy and fit for a Holy Deity to receive. *The Sacrifice of God is a Contrite Spirit, and the Offering of a pure Heart: Mine Ears haſt thou opened, that I ſhould do thy Will; yea thy Law is within my Heart. Offer unto God the Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving; I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice.* And many other Paſſages to the ſame Purpoſe. And at laſt, to clear this Matter, and put it beyond a Doubt, the Son of God himſelf, who was *Truth*, and the Teacher of it, and who condeſcended to come into the World, that he might diſabuſe Mankind, and reſcue them from their Ignorance and Errors, hath utterly aboliſh'd this way of ſerving God: which he wou'd never have done, had there been any *Eſſential Goodneſs* in it, which cou'd have recommended it for its own ſake to God his Father. But when He was come to be the End of the Law, and the Univerſal Propitiation, the Uſe of Sacrifices was at an End too; and then it is, *They that worſhip God muſt worſhip him in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father*

Pſal. li.

Pſal. xl.

Pſal. l.

John iv. 23, 24.

ther ſeeketh ſuch to worſhip him. And without Queſtion, next to the extirpating Idolatry, This of aboliſhing Sacrifices, is One of the moſt Glorious, Publick Effects; One of the beſt Reformations, which Chriſtianity hath wrought in the World. And hence it was, that *Julian*, the Emperor, its moſt profeſſed, moſt inveterate Enemy, in Deſpight to it, offered more *Sacrifices*, than perhaps any other Man ever did; and endeavoured to introduce This Way of Worſhip, and Idolatry again, as being both directly in Contradiction to the Chriſtian Religion. But of This we have ſpoken ſufficiently; and therefore let us now take a ſhort View of ſome of the other conſiderable Branches of Religion.

The *Bleſſed Sacraments*, when Adminiſtred to us in Elements ſo common, and of ſuch mean eſteem, as *Bread* and *Wine*, and *Water*; and not only ſo, but in the very Act of Adminiſtration, bearing Reſemblance to the moſt Vulgar and Deſpicable Actions of Life, as *Waſhing*, *Eating* and *Drinking*, are plain *Memento's* of our continual Weakneſſes, and Wants, our Miſeries and Pollutions. And as the marvellous Efficacy magnifies the Almighty Power and Goodneſs of God, ſo the Need we have of them, ſhould humble us, with mortifying Reflections upon our own feeble Condition.

Thus again, *Repentance* is preſcribed, as the neceſſary, the only Remedy for our Spiritual Diſeaſes; and 'tis plain, This, conſidered in it ſelf, is an Act full of Shame and Reproach; it upbraids us with our Faults and Follies; afflicts our Souls with Grief and ſad Remorſe; and ſhews us to our Selves in the worſt, and moſt deformed Figures, that can be: But, however Evil and Uncomely this may ſeem in it ſelf, yet it is Neceſſary for reconciling us to God, and That is enough to reconcile Us to it. Another Inſtance may be taken

taken from *Oaths*, which are, indeed, Religious Acts, when lawfully practiſed, by Reaſon of the Name of God, ſolemnly invoked in them: But yet, it is evident, that the common Uſe and Adminiſtration of theſe, is a ſcurvy Symptom, a moſt ſhameful Argument, how little Mankind are to be truſted; What Monſters of Falſhood, and Treachery, of Error and Ignorance, we are! How vilely ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful the Perſon requiring them is, and how liable to Jealouſie, the Perſon from whom they are demanded; and what a mean Opinion thoſe Law-givers, who ordered them, had, of Mens *Honeſty* and *Truth*; when one's bare Word will not give Satisfaction, and (as our Saviour ſays) *whatſoever is more than this, cometh of Evil.* Thus you ſee, not only how Weak and Sickly our Condition is; but likewiſe what ſort of Remedies, *Religion* hath found it Neceſſary to apply for our Cure. Since it may be ſaid, in ſome Senſe, with Regard to theſe Matters, *That God hath choſen the weak things of this World.* He did not appoint ſuch as were Nobleſt and moſt Excellent in their own Nature, but condeſcended to conſider the Circumſtances of the Patients, and hath accommodated his Applications to Our Capacities. So that the Goodneſs theſe Things have, is not ſo much inherent in their own Nature, as it is Relative, and derived from the Uſes they ſerve, and the Ends to which they are directed. They are Good, as Medicines are, becauſe they check Evil, and prevent that which is Worſe. They kill the Cauſe and Occaſion of themſelves; for, they ſprung from Sin, and their Buſineſs is to extirpate, and reſtrain Sin. They are Good, as publick Executions are in Common-Wealths; as Sneezing, and Vomiting, and other ſuch violent Evacuations, in our Bodies, whereby the noxious Humours, which oppreſs Nature, are diſcharged; ſuch as are at once the

Matt. V. 37.

1 Cor. I.

Sign

Sign and the Remedy of a Diſtemper. In ſhort, It is well for us that we have them; but it had been abundantly better for us, if we had never had any Occaſion to make uſe of them; and That Occaſion we never ſhould have had, if Man had continued as God made him, and preſerved his Original Wiſdom and Integrity. And accordingly we may take Notice, that Theſe are Things fitted to this frail and mortal State only; and not any of Thoſe more Noble Parts of Religion, which ſhall be the Eternal Exerciſe of our Souls hereafter, when we are releaſed from this Bondage of Fleſh and Corruption. When our Imperfections and our Sins ceaſe, Theſe ceaſe with them; whereas our Praiſes, our Love of God, and other Duties of Intrinſick Goodneſs, are of Eternal Uſe and Obligation; ſo far from dying with our Sins and Bodies, that they will be the more Conſtant, the more Delightful Employment, of our Sinleſs and Exalted State; and make a conſiderable Part of the Heavenly, and Divine Life.

The former Remarks have ſhewn Man's Imbecillity in *Goodneſs* and *Truth*; what follows may perhaps ſurpriſe you more, becauſe it undertakes to repreſent him no leſs impotent in *Evil* too. For They who do their utmoſt Endeavour to be Wicked, cannot be entirely ſo, but are always forced to leave ſomewhat unfiniſhed. There is conſtantly ſome Secret Remorſe, ſome Conſideration of Honour, or Fear, that checks, and pulls them back; ſlackens and enervates the Will, and keeps them from part of the Villany they intended. And this Reſtraint hath been the Ruine of many a One, who hath propoſed to ſave himſelf, by venturing no farther. Which ſort of Folly, and the Miſcarriages that have been owing to it, gave Occaſion to that Proverb, *That a Man muſt never play the Fool by halves.*

This

This *Rule* is Judicious enough, but deſerves a little Illuſtration, becauſe, as it hath a *Good*, ſo is it likewiſe capable of a very *Bad* Senſe. To underſtand it, as if a Man ought to abandon all Conſcience, and might in any Circumſtances do Well and Wiſely to be Wicked without Reſerve, is a very perverſe Interpretation, and would render it a moſt pernicious Maxim. In this Reſpect, that contrary Proverb is moſt true, that *The ſhorteſt Follies are the Beſt.* But it is True too, that in ſome Caſes Mildneſs and Moderation are of Dangerous Conſequence; as particularly, when we have a deſperate and formidable Enemy to deal with, and (as we commonly ſay) *Hold a Wolf by the Ears.* A Man then hath no ſafe Middle-Way left; no Courſe to take, but either the winning him over entirely by Courteſie, or abſolutely to ſubdue, and put him out of a Capacity, to do us farther Miſchief. This was the conſtant Method of the *Romans*, and a very prudent One no doubt it is. Thus *Camillus* remonſtrated to the Senate in the Caſe of the *Latines*, after ſeveral Revolts, ſuing for Terms of Reconciliation; That they muſt either be admitted into Friendſhip, or not ſuffered to be a People any longer; and * That there was no other Way left to ſecure a laſting Peace, but either *Extremity of Rigour*, or a *Generous Pardon.* In ſuch an Exigence of Affairs, to do Things by Halves, is to ruine All; as the *Samnites* found by woful Experience, who for want of following the Advice of a Herennius. † Wiſe Old Senator, who when they had hemm'd in the *Romans*, and had them at their Mercy, gave his

* Dii immortales ita vos potentes hujus conſilii fecerunt, ut ſit Latium deinde, aut non ſit, in veſtrâ manu poſuerint. Itaque pacem vobis, quod ad Latinos Attinet, parare in perpetuum, vel ſæviendo, vel ignoſcendo poteſtis. *T. Liv.* Lib. VIII. Cap. 13.

† Vide *Tit. Liv.* Lib. IX. Cap. 3.

Opinion

Opinion, either for obliging them by Honourable Treatment, or for cutting them all off; paid very dear. That of *Courteſie*, is the Nobler Conqueſt, and ought to be a Man's Firſt Choice; The Second is only for Caſes of Extremity, and ſuch Enemies as Kindneſs will do no Good upon. Now, from all theſe Inſtances, the Infirmity of Humane Nature appears very evidently, both with Regard to *Good* and *Evil*. A Man can neither perform, nor avoid either entirely, and without reſerve; and what he does, or ſo much as he declines of it, is neither the One nor the Other, abſolutely and without mixture. There is ſome Allay, ſome Abatement in both Extremes, and thus Man hath it not in his Power to be *exquiſitely Good* or *exquiſitely Wicked*, but finds himſelf checked and confined, on either Hand.

Let us proceed to obſerve ſome other Effects, and plain Indications of Humane Infirmity. It is a Littleneſs of Soul, which makes Men, that they neither dare, nor can *reprove* others, when they have done amiſs, nor can bear being reproved Themſelves, when they deſerve it. And this farther Remark is likewiſe True, That Men, as they have, or want Courage, for One of Theſe, ſo do they conſtantly, for the Other of them too. Now, This is a very Fooliſh Niceneſs, to deprive our Selves, or our Friend, of ſo Beneficial and Neceſſary a Kindneſs, merely for a ſlight Scratch, which at the moſt does but pinch our Ears, and make them tingle a little. And near of Kin to This, is that other Folly, of not daring to deny what we are ſenſible is not fit for us to grant, and not being able to receive a Repulſe, with any manner of Temper. 12. *In Reproofs and Denials.*

When Men are *falſely ſuſpected*, and *wrongfully accuſed*, they are liable to a Two-fold Nicety, and each of Theſe is chargeable with Weakneſs. (In ſuch 13. *Falſe Suſpicions, and Accuſations.*

ſuch Accuſations, I mean, as common Report lays, and not Thoſe which fall upon them in the Methods of Law and Juſtice) One of theſe Extremes, is the being too eaſily moved, and over-induſtrious to excuſe, or to juſtifie Themſelves, and this ſometimes moſt Impertinently, and Officiouſly.

* ——— *Falſe Reports diſgrace*
And trouble, Whom? The Vicious and the Baſe. Creech.

A Man cannot wrong his Innocence more, than thus, to ſtake his Conſcience upon every ſlight Provocation, and refer his Honeſty to the Arbitration of all Companies he comes into. † *When Things are plain of themſelves, a ſet Argument does but perplex and confound them.* *Socrates*, upon his Tryal, would not ſubmit to be vindicated, either by Himſelf or by any Other; and rather choſe to die Silently, than accept the Aſſiſtance of that Eminent Pleader *Lyſias*, in his Defence.

But the other Weakneſs is juſt oppoſite to This; when a Man of Courage gives himſelf no Trouble, nor takes the leaſt Pains about his own Juſtification; tho' the Charge upon him have gain'd Ground, and prepoſſeſt many; when he deſpiſes the Accuſation, and the Perſons that lay it, as not worth his Anſwer or Notice; and thinks it would be a Diſparagement and a Reflection to engage with them. This indeed hath been the Practice of ſome great and generous Spirits; of *Scipio* eſpecially, who ſeveral times weathered his Point thus, with marvellous Conſtancy and Firmneſs of Soul. But a great many Perſons diſapprove this Method, and take offence at it; for they think it

* ——— Mendax infamia terret
Quem niſi mendoſum & mendacem? *Hor. Ep.* XVI. *Lib.* I.
† Perſpicuitas argumentatione elevatur.

proceeds

proceeds from Haughtineſs and Diſdain, too great a Value of Themſelves, and want of due Regard for other People. That the depending too much upon one's own Innocence, and not ſubmitting to remove Jealouſies, is ill Treatment: Or elſe, this obſtinate Silence and Contempt, they interpret Conſciouſneſs of Guilt, Diſtruſt of Juſtice, and Want of Ability to juſtify one's ſelf effectually. Miſerable Condition of Mankind in the mean while! that when they are ſuſpected and accuſed, have no poſſible way of giving entire Satisfaction; but whether they ſpeak, or whether they ſit ſtill and hold their Peace; whether they do, or do not take care to defend their Names from Reproach, are ſure to incur the Imputation of Weakneſs and Cowardice. We think it a Mark of Courage, and adviſe Men not to be ſollicitous in making Excuſes; and when they take our Advice, we are ſuch Fools to reſent it, and complain that they do not think Us worth excuſing themſelves to.

14. *Niceneſs and Affectation.*

Another Evidence of *Weakneſs* is the enſlaving our ſelves to any particular Manner, and affecting to be diſtinguiſhed by ſome uncommon way of Living. This is a vile Effeminacy, a Niceneſs moſt unbecoming a Man of Honour; it renders us ridiculous and diſagreeable in Converſation; and is highly injurious to our Selves; by ſoftening our Minds, and making us tender and delicate, and unfit to ſtruggle with any Accident, which may conſtrain us to change our Courſe of Life. Beſides, it is a Reproach, not to dare to do, or endure, what the reſt of the Company do. Such People are fit for no Place but an Alcove, or a Dreſſing-Room. The beſt Faſhion, when all is done, is to be negligent, and complying, and hardy, if need be; to dare, and be able to do any thing; but to uſe this Power in ſuch Things only,

only, as are innocent and good. A Man does well to know and obſerve Rules; but not to enſlave himſelf to them.

15. *Conſulting of Books.* Another vulgar Folly there is, and a very general one, which comes under this Head of *Weakneſs*. 'Tis the running after Foreign Examples in Authors; being fond of Quotations, allowing no Teſtimony to have Weight or Credit, except it be in Print; nor any Thing to be true, but what is *Old*, and in *Books*. According to this Rule, the Preſs may give Reputation to the greateſt Follies; whereas, in truth, every Day preſents us with freſh Inſtances of Things in no degree inferior to thoſe more celebrated ones of Antiquity. And if we had but the Wit and the Judgment to make good Reflections upon theſe; to cull and collect carefully ſuch as are for our Purpoſe; to examine them curiouſly, and diſcover all their Beauties, the Improvement would be wonderful; And every Age would be equal to any of the paſt, the Tranſactions whereof we ſo zealouſly ſtudy and admire; and, to be plain, we ſtudy and admire them for no other Reaſon ſo much, as that they have Antiquity and Authors to recommend them.

16. *Extremes.* This again is an Evidence of *Weakneſs*, That Men are capable of nothing, except in moderate Proportions; *Extremes* of any kind are what they cannot bear. If they are very ſmall, and make a deſpicable Figure, we deſpiſe and diſdain them, as not worth our Conſideration: If they be exceeding great and glorious, we are afraid of them, admire, and take Offence at them. The Former of theſe Remarks concerns Men of great Quality, and great Judgment: The Second is more generally true of meaner Attainments and Circumſtances in the World.

This

This appears very plain too, in our Hearing and Sight, when we are ſtruck all on the ſudden with ſome unexpected and ſurprizing Accident, which ſeizes our Spirits before we know where we are. The Amazements of this kind are ſometimes ſo great, as to deprive us of our Speech, of our Senſes; ſo *Virgil* deſcribes the thing; 17. *Sudden Accidents.*

* *Her curdled Blood runs backward at the Sight,*
And pale numb'd Limbs a ſudden Trembling ſhook;
She ſtiffens into Statue with the Fright,
Swoons, and at laſt long Silence hardly broke.

nay, ſometimes Life it ſelf hath gone too. And this, whether the Event were proſperous, as that *Roman* Lady, who dy'd for Joy to ſee her Son ſafe return'd out of a beaten Army; and the Examples of *Sophocles*, and *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, teſtify; or whether it be unhappy, as *Diodorus* dy'd upon the Spot, for Shame that he was baffled in a Diſpute.

One Inſtance more I will add, which diſcovers it ſelf two ways, in direct Oppoſition to one another. Some Perſons are vanquiſh'd into Mercy by Tears, and Submiſſions, and earneſt Entreaties; and are offended at Firmneſs and Courage, as if this were Sullenneſs, and Obſtinacy, and Pride. Others Acknowledgements, and Prayers, and Complaints make no manner of Impreſſion upon; but Conſtancy and Reſolution wins them. The Former of theſe proceeds, no doubt, from *Weakneſs*; and accordingly, we find it more incident and common to mean, and effeminate, and vulgar Souls. But the Second it is not ſo eaſy to give an account of; and yet this Temper is incident to

* Diriguit viſu in medio, calor oſſa reliquit.
Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur. *Virg. Æn.* III.

Men of all Conditions. One would think it an Argument of a brave and generous Spirit, to be wrought upon by Virtue, and a generous Manly Behaviour; and ſo, no doubt, it is, if This be done out of a due Veneration for Virtue, as *Scanderbeg* receiv'd a Soldier into Favour, for the gallant and obſtinate Defence he made againſt him; and as *Pompey*, the whole City of the *Mammertines*, out of the regard he had to *Zeno*, who was one of their Body: And as the Emperor *Conrade* forgave the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the reſt of them that were beſieged with him, for the Bravery of the Women, who convey'd them away upon their Heads. But if this Yielding proceed from the Surprize and Confuſion, occaſion'd by the over-bearing Power of ſome Superior Virtue, (as the People of *Thebes*, who were quite diſpirited, when they heard *Epaminondas*, in his Defence, reckon up his good Services, and noble Exploits, and reproach their baſe Ingratitude with a becoming Indignation; and *Alexander*, when he deſpiſed the noble Reſolution of *Betis*, who was taken with the City of *Gaza*, of which he was Commander) then there is another Account to be given of it. The Former of theſe was Weakneſs; the Second, neither the Effect of Courage nor Weakneſs, but of Anger and Rage; which in *Alexander* was never ſubject to any Check, nor ever knew any Moderation.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Author had ſaid in the Preface to his Book, that his Deſign was to write after the manner of the Academick Philoſophers; who made it their Buſineſs, to repreſent each ſide of the Queſtion in its utmoſt Beauty and Strength, without delivering any deciſive Opinion in the Caſe, or being bound to ſtand by either Branch of the Controverſy.

troverſy. An Attentive Reader will eaſily obſerve, That Monſieur *Charron* hath thus far maintain'd the Character he propos'd for his Pattern, as to make the moſt of the Arguments that offer'd for his preſent Purpoſe, without precluding himſelf from putting quite another Face upon the Matter, when his Subject requir'd that it ſhould be taken by another Handle. Thus you will find him varying concerning the Attaining of Knowledge by Senſe, and whether This be the only poſſible way of Information; by comparing Chapter X. and Chapter XIII. And in the very Subject of this Chapter and Section; how diſtant is the Reflection he makes here, from thoſe others which He and other Philoſophers propoſe to us elſewhere; upon the Noble Excellence of Virtue, the Largeneſs of its Scope and Extent; its Independence upon Fortune and Caſualties; and the mighty Convenience of furniſhing ſomething commendable and proper for our Exerciſe, and ſo making us happy in every poſſible Condition of Humane Life? *Sect.* 10, 11.

This Variety then of Thought is a good Warning to avoid what our Author ſo frequently condemns; Too eaſy a Credulity, and taking his Notions upon Truſt: For we find even thoſe Notions not always the ſame, but accommodated to his preſent Subject and Deſign: And That Deſign well attended to, and taken along with us, will be a very good Guide to our underſtanding him aright. For Inſtance; He had laid it down in the beginning of this Treatiſe, as a Fundamental Principle, That the Ignorance of a Man's Self is the great and moſt governing Error of his Life; of an Influence ſo univerſally pernicious, that all his Vices and Misfortunes are owing to it. But then This was ſuch an Ignorance as diſpoſed Men to over-value and neglect themſelves, by covering, and quite overlooking the Defects and Diſadvantages of Humane

Nature; and ſo kept the Patient incurable, becauſe inſenſible of his Diſeaſe. In order to remedy this Evil it is, that Monſieur *Charron* undertakes to ſhew Men to Themſelves; and 'tis evident his Deſign requires that he ſhould ſhew the worſt of them; and paint only thoſe Features and Lines ſtrong, which may diſcover their Deformity, and tend to humble and to mortify them firſt; and then to awaken that Care, which can never be vigorouſly employ'd, till they are firſt convinc'd of the Weakneſs and Danger of thoſe Circumſtances that want it.

A Philoſopher now under theſe Circumſtances, is thus far like a Law-giver, that it will be Prudence in him to ſuppoſe and provide againſt the worſt; and therefore, as I wou'd not extenuate the Art or Wiſdom of my Author, nor do Injury to his Argument; ſo neither can I be juſt to the Dignity of our Nature, and grateful to the Wiſe and Good Creator of it, unleſs I give my Reader theſe ſhort, and (as I conceive) neceſſary Directions in peruſing this *Firſt Part* of the Book.

Firſt, That what is here truly ſaid of ſome, or moſt Men, (and was fit to be ſaid in general Terms, becauſe the worſt Men have moſt need of ſuch Treatiſes, and ſo are moſt concern'd in them) muſt not be ſo univerſally apply'd, or underſtood, as to be taken for a common Standard, and univerſal Repreſentation of all Mankind, without Exception.

Secondly, That in thoſe Vices and Defects, which are general, we ſhould make a Diſtinction between ſuch as are eſſential to Humane Nature, and inſeparable from its Original Conſtitution; and ſuch as are the Effects of Cuſtom and Corruption, of either *Adam*'s, or our own Sin.

Thirdly; That what we charge as a Defect, be really ſo, and owing to the Cauſe we aſcribe it

to,

to. Theſe are neceſſary Cautions for the ſake of doing common Juſtice, as well as preventing Miſtakes in our Selves. It were unreaſonable to take our Meaſures of all Mankind in reſpect of their Bodies, from the Sick or Lame; and from the Fools or the Sots, every whit as extravagant for their Souls. It were a charging God fooliſhly, to aſcribe thoſe Impotences and Evils to Him, which have been the Conſequences of our Diſobedience againſt Him. And it is a moſt unthankful Aſperſion upon the Beauty and Wiſdom of his Providence, to charge That upon a Defect in Nature, which is really no other than a natural Reſult of the different Fortunes and Conditions of Men: Which is exactly the Caſe here before us: For wherein is the excellent Wiſdom of that Providence more clearly ſeen, than in that uſeful Variety of Circumſtances, which Men are placed in? And what can more vindicate the *Juſtice* and *Goodneſs* of God from any reaſonable Exception, than this, That there are particular Virtues appropriated to every ſort of Perſons and Accidents; and that no Circumſtance of Life is poſſible, or ſuppoſable, but it may be adorned and recommended by Virtues, which are ſeaſonable and diſtinguiſhing for that very Condition? This Variety of Virtues then is far from a Natural Weakneſs; it is not owing to Nature, but to Fortune and Providence; and is ſo far from a Diſparagement, that it is rather an Ornament and Advantage to the World. Indeed, if Nature have any thing to do in it, it is the Nature of Virtue it ſelf; for even Almighty God, who is Goodneſs in Perfection, yet does not execrciſe both Juſtice and Mercy (for Inſtance) at once, to the ſame Perſon, and in the ſame Reſpects: And how is Man the worſe for not doing Things inconſiſtent and incompatible, and what even Almighty God himſelf does not do? The ſame

may be ſaid of the Defects of Juſtice, taken Notice of afterwards; at leaſt, in ſome degree: Thoſe being the unavoidable Conſequences of Multitudes incorporated into Civil Societies, and ſo many Intereſts nicely interwoven with one another: All which I thought it my Duty to hint at, thereby to prevent any mean, repining, or ungrateful Thoughts, which ſuch Reflections as Theſe, when laviſhly ſpoken, or unwarily received, might be apt to raiſe in Men's Minds, to the Diſquiet of their own Hearts, and the Diſhonour of the Maker and Governour, not only of the Humane, but of Univerſal Nature.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

III. *Inconſtancy.*

MAN is a Creature wonderfully various and mutable; and the great Difficulty of coming to any Judgment concerning Him, which ſhould be certain, fix'd, and univerſal, proceeds from hence, That our Lives are not all of a Piece, but made up of diſagreeing and different Parcels. Moſt part of our Actions do not ariſe from ſteady Thought, but are ſudden Starts and Sallies, the Effects of Accident and Impulſe, and look like Shreds of ſeveral Stuffs patch'd up and ſewed together. Firſt Irreſolution, and then Fickleneſs and Change of Meaſures when we have reſolved, are the commoneſt and moſt apparent Vices of Humane Nature. And our Actions, 'tis plain, do ſo ſtrangely croſs and contradict one another, that it is not eaſy to believe ſo many Contrarieties ſhould all be deriv'd from the ſame Original. We change and

and are not ſenſible of it: We run eagerly after every Whimſie of our own Appetites, and are born away by the Stream of Accidents and Paſſions; 'Tis no more Reaſon, but Inclination that governs us: * *But ſure it is, nothing can ever be regular and ſteady, which is not directed and order'd by Reaſon and Method.* Thus our very Minds and Tempers vary too; the Climate, the Weather, and the Motions of Time and Seaſons, make conſiderable Alterations and Differences in us.

† *In each Man's Breaſt This Weathercock, the Mind,*
Moves with the Sun, and ſhifts with every Wind.

Our whole Life is nothing elſe, but one unequal, irregular, and many-figur'd Motion; nothing ſtrait, nothing ſteady; We are perpetually moving and turning; and the very change of our Poſture is ſo frequent, as to be an Uneaſineſs and Trouble to us. || *No Man continues to wiſh and deſign the ſame thing two Days together. Now the Man is for Marrying; by and by a Miſtreſs is preferr'd before a Wife: Now he is Ambitious and Aſpiring, and looks Big; preſently the meaneſt Servant is not more humble, more condeſcending than He. This Hour he ſquanders his Money away; the next he turns Miſer, and ſcrapes all he can. Sometimes he is frugal and ſerious; ſometimes profuſe, airy, and gay. Thus we ſhift our Characters each Moment, and act a Thouſand ſeveral Parts.*

---

* At nil poteſt eſſe æquabile, quod non à certâ ratione proficiſcitur.

† Tales ſunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipſe
Jupiter auctiferâ luſtravit lampade terras.

|| Nemo non quotidie conſilium mutat & votum, modo uxorem vult, modo amicam; modo regnare vult, modo non eſt eo officioſior ſervus: nunc pecuniam ſpargit, nunc rapit; modo frugi videtur & gravis, modo prodigus & vanus; mutamus ſubinde perſonam.

The

The Mind is with it ſelf at ſtrife,
And diſagrees in all the Courſe of Life;
For what it hated now, it ſtreight deſires,
What now it threw away, it moſt admires. Creech.

So little is any of us the ſame; and ſo much harder is it to ſound and know *Man* perfectly, than any other Creature whatſoever: For he is full of Doubles and Trickings; the cloſeſt, cunningeſt, and moſt Counterfeit part of the Creation. He hath a Thouſand little Cloſets and falſe Doors, where he hides, and comes out again; ſometimes a Man, ſometimes a Monſter; a Thouſand Breathing-holes, at which he blows ſometimes Hot, ſometimes Cold, and almoſt blinds you with Cloud and Smoak. Every Agitation is but a freſh Folly; and the Courſe of his Life One continu'd Error. He is born in the Morning, and dies at Night; is ſometimes in Chains, and ſometimes at large; ſometimes a God, and ſometimes an Inſect: He Laughs and Cries for the ſame thing; is ſatisfy'd and diſſatisfy'd, ever wiſhing, and never knowing what he would be at. Sometimes tranſported, and ready to leap out of his Skin for Joy; and preſently again ſo melancholy and dejected, that nothing can content, nothing quiet him, or make him think Life tolerable.

Quod petiit ſpernit, repetit quod nuper omiſit,
Æſtuat, & vitæ diſconvenit ordine toto. *Horat. 1. Ep. 1.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Misery.

WE are now to draw the largeſt and moſt diſtinguiſhing Line of the whole Piece. *Man* hath been, already, deſcribed *Vain* and *Feeble*, *Frail* and *Inconſtant*, with regard to *Goodneſs* and *Happineſs*, and *Eaſe*; but he is *ſtrong* and *luſty*, *conſtant* and *hardened*, and *tough* in *Miſery*. He is in a manner *Miſery alive*, and in *Humane Shape*; and no one Word is equally expreſſive of his Condition. For all *Miſery* centers in him, and dwells in no other part of the World beſides. To be Miſerable is the Property of our Nature; Man alone is ſo, and every Man is ſo, as will appear by and by. For a true Repreſentation of this Matter, it were convenient to run over all the Parts of his Life; to deſcribe his Eſſence, his Coming into the World, his Stay in it, and his Departure out of it. This were an endleſs Undertaking, and I pretend not to it; nor need I indeed, becauſe ſo many have handled the Subject before me. What I intend at preſent, is only to inſtance in ſome Particulars, not commonly taken Notice of, nor reputed Unhappineſſes; at leaſt, ſuch as Men do not throughly conſider, nor are ſufficiently ſenſible of, tho' they be in reality very grievous, if we make a true Judgment of them. 1. *Miſery proper to Man.*

Take this then for the Firſt Proof of Man's Miſery, That his Firſt Appearances in the World are Mean and Deſpicable; but his Going out of it, his Death and Deſtruction, are eſteem'd Glorious and full of Honour. By which One would be tempted 2. *In his Beginning and End.*

pted to think this a monſtrous Creature, in the Production whereof there is ſo much Shame, and ſo much Reputation in the Unmaking him again. What relates to the former of Theſe, Modeſty draws a Veil over; but the latter is proclaimed and receiv'd with Triumph; the Inſtruments are prepared with great Expence; we wear them conſtantly about us, and look upon Them as Ornaments to our Perſons. We are born in Chambers privately, but die before many Spectators, in Fields and Camps, in the Sight of the Sun, and with Sound of Trumpet, and are proud of Butchering one another. Nature hath provided but one Way of coming into the World, but a great many Paſſages out; and, as if even thus Nature had done too little, Invention and Induſtry have added their Aſſiſtance, and make Men every Day more Ingenious in new Arts of Killing. Laws and Cuſtoms have not aſſigned any Recompence for Mens Skill in multiplying, or in preſerving Mankind; but all our Enſigns of Honour, are for the deſtroying it. Arms of Families, Advancements, Riches Commands, Triumphs, and Trophies are decreed to Them that are mighty to oppreſs, to grieve, to murder Mankind. The Two great Heroes of all Story, *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, were each of them (according to *Pliny*'s Computation) the death of more than a Million of Men, and yet neither of theſe added One to the Number. And heretofore, Men were ſlaughtered in Publick Theatres, merely for Pleaſure and Paſtime. * *Man, a Creature Venerable and Sacred, is ſlain for Sport and Diverſion; Death in Man is Entertainment ſufficient. Innocent Perſons are brought upon the Stage, to be ſacrificed for the*

* Homo res ſacra per jocum & luſum occiditur; ſatis ſpectaculi in homine mors eſt innocentes. In ludum veniunt ut publicæ voluptatis hoſtiæ, fiant. *Senec. Tertul.*

Peoples

Peoples Pleasure. In some Nations it is Usual to curse the Day of their Birth, and bless That of their Death. And the wisest Man that ever lived, hath taught us, that the Latter of These is much Better of the Two. Now, no other Creature is so discontented with it self; nor are the Particulars here mention'd, True of Beasts, or any Part of the Creation besides.

3. *Destroying his Pleasure.*

The Second Evidence of his Misery, may be taken from the Retrenchment of Pleasures; those poor and low Pleasures of which he is capable (for the Head of *Weakness* may have satisfy'd us, that the Pure and Exquisite are too refin'd for him) the Care taken to abate of the Number, and to check the relish of them. If this be not done upon a Religious Account, how monstrous a Folly is it? Thus far Man is oblig'd to become his own Enemy; to rob and betray Himself; so that even his Pleasures are Burdens, and he contributes to his own Uneasiness. And this some are so superstitiously severe in, that they avoid Health, and Good Humour, and Mirth, as Evils.

* *Oh wretched Men! whose Pleasures are their Crime.*

We are exceedingly ingenious to our Disadvantage; and the Force of our Wit feeds upon nothing more, than the contriving new Arts of Uneasiness to our Selves.

4. *Creating Misfortunes to our selves.*

Thus it is plainly in a much worse Instance than the former: For the Mind of Man does not only spoil Good, and deny its own Appetites, and check even lawful Delights; but it is eternally busie in framing and forging Pains and Evils. Thus Things which have in reality nothing of Evil in Them,

---

* O miseri, quorum gaudia crimen habent. *Gallus, Eleg.* 1.

and

and ſuch as Beaſts ſtand in no Fear at all of, our Minds draw in the blackeſt Colours, and moſt hideous Shapes; and then tremble, and ſtart, and run away, from Monſters of their own making. Thus we eſteem it a mighty Unhappineſs, not to be Honourable, and Rich, and Great; and look upon Cuckoldom, want of Children, and Death, as inſupportable Evils. Whereas, to ſpeak freely, I know no Temporal Affliction which is really Evil, and felt to be ſo, but *Pain* only. And the Reaſon, why ſome wiſe Men have been known to fear thoſe other Things, was not upon the account of the Things themſelves, but of the Pain which may happen to be an inſeparable Attendant upon them. For This ſometimes is a Forerunner of Death; and ſometimes it follows upon Poverty and Diſgrace. But if you conſider theſe Matters, (abſtracting the Pain) all the reſt is mere Imagination; a Thing that hath no Being, but in our own Brains; which are eternally cutting themſelves out new Work, and forming Evils that are not, to add to Thoſe that are; thus enlarging our Miſery, and finding it freſh Employment, inſtead of quieting and cutting it ſhort. For the Beaſts feel nothing of all this; and therefore it is plain they are *Evils*, not of *Nature*'s, but of *Fancy*'s making.

5. Born to Pain. As for *Pain*, which ſeems the only real Evil, Man is perfectly fitted for That, and born to it. The *Mexicans* welcome their Children into the World, with this Salutation; *Child, thou art come into this World to ſuffer; take it patiently, and hold thy Peace.* And Three Arguments there are, which may convince us, that Pain is in a manner Natural to Man; and a State of Indolence or Pleaſure, foreign to his Conſtitution. The Firſt is, that every Part about a Man is ſuſceptible of Pain, and but very few capable of Pleaſure. The Second,

That

That Those which are capable of Pleasure, can receive but one or two sorts of it; but all the Parts receive great variety of Pains, and Those of the most different kinds too; Extremity of Heat and Cold, Pricking, Bursting, Bruising, Scratching, Flaying, Beating, Scalding, Fainting, Swooning, Extension, Oppression, Relaxatian of the Parts; and others without Number, that want a Name, besides Those of the Soul; so that a Man is much more able to suffer, than to express his Sufferings. To this must be added, that a Man cannot continue long in Pleasures: All his Delights are a short Blaze; should they last long, they would destroy Themselves, and become painful and insupportable. But his Pains are of a great length, and not confin'd to certain Seasons, as Pleasures are. Thus Pain hath a more absolute Dominion over us; its Territories are larger; its Reign more lasting, more general, more uncontroll'd, and, in a Word, more Natural, than that of Pleasure is, or can possibly be.

To these Three Remarks may be added as many more; as First, Pain and Sorrow is much more common, and comes oftner upon us; Pleasure is hard to be met with, and seldom returns. Then, Pain comes of its own accord, without any seeking or Endeavour of ours to procure it; but Pleasure never approaches voluntarily; we are fain to court it, to buy it dear, and oftentimes pay more for it than it is worth. Pleasure is never Entire, but hath always some Abatement, some Alloy of Uneasiness, somewhat attending it that we cannot like, and had much rather were otherwise; but Pain and Dissatisfaction are often without any manner of Mixture or Mitigation. And after all this, the worst part of the Bargain, and that which most clearly proves our Misery, is, That Extremity of Pleasure does not affect us so sensibly

bly as a very ſmall Degree of Pain or Sickneſs. * *Humane Nature is more accommodated to the Senſe of Evil, than of Good.* Perfect Health and Eaſe makes no manner of Impreſſion; but the leaſt Indiſpoſition makes a very great one. † *The Prick of a Pin, tho' the Skin be ſcarce razed, puts the whole Body into Diſorder; and yet That whole Body, when in a ſtate of perfect Eaſe, hath no particular Senſation, or Motion of Joy reſulting from it.*

6. *Remembrance and Anticipation of Evils.*

As if all this were ſtill too little, and neither Real and Subſtantial Evils, nor Falſe, and of our own forming, could complete our Miſery; we ſtretch, and lengthen both the One and the Other of theſe; give them new Life, and ſuſtain them longer than they could poſſibly ſubſiſt without our cheriſhing; as if we were perfectly in love with Uneaſineſs. This we do ſeveral ways; as Firſt, by calling to remembrance that which is paſſed, and foreſtalling that which is to come. This Method can never fail, becauſe the Two great Privileges our Nature boaſts of, are *Memory* and *Foreſight*; and theſe Advantages and Prerogatives of our Species, we ſo pervert, as to render them the Inſtruments of our Unhappineſs. || *The Paſt and the Future both put us upon the Rack; many of our Advantages do us an Injury; Memory calls back our Terrors; and Forethought antedates them: No Man bears the preſent Burden, and no more.* Now what can expreſs a more importunate deſire of Miſery, than the not ſtaying till the Calamity comes, but going out to meet, and find, to ſeek, and to invite it, to haſten

---

* Segnius homines bona quàm mala ſentiunt.

† Pungit — In cute vix ſummâ violatum plagula Corpus,
Quando valere nihil quenquam movet ———

|| Futuro torquemur & præterito, multa bona noſtra nobis nocent; timoris tormentum memoria reducit, providentia anticipat; nemo præſentibus tantum miſer eſt.

its

its Approaches towards us? This is like the *Men that kill themselves for fear of Dying*, which is, out of Curiosity, or Weakness, to pull down upon us what we most apprehend. And thus we do not only wait for our greatest Evils, and real Inconveniences, with a foolish Impatience, but oftentimes terrify and torment our selves with the Expectation of those, which perhaps would never reach us at all. These Persons take great Pains to be miserable before their Time; nay, to be doubly so, by the Sense of the Calamity, when upon them, and by long Premeditation at a Distance; which is a thousand times worse than the Calamity it self. * *The Fatigue of Sense is much less in enduring, than the Torture of the Mind in expecting.* The real Existence of Misery is, it seems, too short and transitory, and therefore the Mind must give it Birth, and lengthen out its Life, and entertain it self with it before-hand. † *He that afflicts himself before he needs, is sure to be afflicted more than he needs.* Beasts are secure from such Wretchedness and Folly, and are in this respect much beholding to Nature, for not having given them the tormenting Faculties of Wit, and Memory, and Foresight, like ours. *Cæsar* used to say, that *the best Death was that which was least thought on.* And there is no doubt, but the Pomp and Expectation of Death is frequently more painful and terrible than the Thing it self. It is not here any Part of my Design, to discourage or reflect upon that Premeditation which Philosophy and Religion require of us: For This is the very Tempering that hardens the Soul, and makes it Proof against all Accidents and Assaults; and a Place shall be reserved for recommending this particularly. But what I would ex- Book II Ch. 7. 11

* Minus afficit sensus fatigatio quam cogitatio.

† Plus dolet quàm necesse est, qui ante dolet quàm necesse est.

plode, is that Apprehenſion of Evils to come, which is always Poor-ſpirited, and ſometimes Groundleſs, and ever Fruitleſs; which troubles, and ſullies the Soul with Black Thoughts, deforms its Beauty, diſturbs its Quiet, and embitters all its Joy. And ſure it is much better to be abſolutely ſurpriz'd, than thus forewarn'd: Rather than think thus of Future Evils, never think at all. But, ſetting aſide this Antedating of Evil; the very Anxiety, and Care, and perpetual Hankering after Future Contingences of any kind, the Sollicitude of our Hopes, the Eagerneſs of our Deſires, the Miſgivings of our Fears, are a very great Miſery. For beſides, that What is *future*, is equally out of our Power with What is *paſt*, (and ſo theſe Thoughts are vain) we are certain to receive Detriment by that which can do us no Service. (*For* **the State of a Mind always in Pain for what will happen hereafter, is certainly moſt deplorable*) It robs us of all ſedate Thoughts; deſtroys all that comfortable Senſe, and quiet Enjoyment, we might have of preſent Advantages; and makes it impoſſible for Men to ſit down eaſy and ſatisfy'd under any Diſpenſations of the kindeſt and moſt bountiful Providence to them.

7. *Uneaſy Enquiries.* Nay, Man ſtops not here; but, as if he were concern'd to furniſh new Matter for that Miſery, which comes up but too thick of its own accord; he cultivates and encreaſes it, by a reſtleſs Curioſity, and ſtudious Purſuit of freſh Objects, which may create or cheriſh his Unhappineſs. With what Eagerneſs and Pleaſure does he thruſt himſelf into Buſineſs; and how inquiſitive and impatient is he to diſcover That, which, if it would preſent it ſelf to his View without any Trouble of his,

* Calamitoſus eſt animus futuri anxius.

he

he ought rather to turn away, and hide his Eyes from? And this buſy Temper is owing either to a Natural Reſtleſneſs, diſpoſing us to be miſerable; or from a vain Affectation to be Judicious, and Wiſe, and always employ'd; that is, in plain *Engliſh*, to make our ſelves Fools and Wretches: As we needs muſt be, when our Induſtry to perplex our ſelves is ſo great, that when we have no Buſineſs of our own to diſquiet us, we go abroad in queſt of Troubles, and officiouſly concern our ſelves with the Affairs of other People. In a Word, Man is under exceeding great and perpetual Agitation of Mind, not only from ſuch Thoughts and Cares as are unneceſſary, and turn to no account; but ſuch as are thorny, troubleſome, and injurious to him: The *Preſent* gives him Pain; the *Paſt*, Regret; the *Future*, Perplexity; and, by his Behaviour under all this, one would think him afraid of nothing ſo much, as the not being ſufficiently miſerable, after all his Endeavours to render himſelf ſo. And may we not juſtly uſe this Exclamation; O *wretched Mortals! how many Evils do you continually endure, which might with great Eaſe have been avoided! how many more indeed are thoſe of your own, and how few, in Compariſon, thoſe of God's and Nature's making!* But thus, alas, it is! Man delights himſelf in Miſery, and is obſtinate in ſeeking and cleaving to it. He chews the Cud upon each Misfortune, and takes great Pains that none ſhould be forgotten, but renews their Images daily and hourly. Nothing is ſo frequent, ſo familiar, as Complaints; and where Occaſions are but light and trivial, he cheriſhes and heigthens the Reſentment, calls himſelf the moſt unhappy Man in the World, and takes it ill not to be thought ſo; * *Such Pleaſure does he find in indulging his Grief.* And

* Eſt quædam dolendi voluptas.

ſure the being ſo very ambitious to enhance our Miſery, and to get the Character of thoſe who excel all others in it, is a much greater Miſery, than never feeling or knowing our Unhappineſs at all. * *And yet this is that querulous Creature Man, that ſits with great Eagerneſs brooding upon his own Miſeries.*

8. *In the Remedies of Miſery.* Thus you ſee him abundantly miſerable, by Nature and by Choice; in Reality and in Imagination; by Conſtraint, and with Induſtry and Pleaſure. He hath too much of it in deſpight of all Endeavours to the contrary; and yet his great Fear is, that he ſhould not have Miſery enough. He is always in Chaſe of ſome freſh Unhappineſs, and in Pain till he hath overtaken it. But now we will take him in another Proſpect, affected with a Senſe, and weary of ſome particular Evil; for even This does not happen always; and many Miſeries are endur'd without any uneaſy Reſentments at all) And when his Mind is thus far awaken'd, let us next obſerve, how he endeavours to diſengage himſelf, and what Remedies are to be apply'd in order to a Cure. And Theſe are ſuch, in truth, as rather fret and anger the Sore, than heal it; for by quitting one Evil, he only exchanges it for another, and oftentimes for a worſe. But ſtill the very Change is pleaſing, or at leaſt, it ſooths and allays the Pain a little. He fancies one Evil may be cured by another; and this Imagination is owing to a vulgar Error, that ſeems to have bewitch'd Mankind; which makes them always ſuſpect Things that are eaſy and cheap; and eſteem nothing truly valuable and advantageous, but what coſts us dear, and is attended with much Labour and Difficulty. And This again riſes higher, (for it is not more ſtrange

* Homo animal querulum, cupidè ſuis incumbens miſeriis.

than

than true, and nothing can more fully prove, that Man is exceeding miſerable) That, let the Evils we lie under, be what they will, ſome other Evil is neceſſary for expelling and ſubduing them; and whether the Body or the Mind be the Part affected, the Caſe in this reſpect is much the ſame. For the Diſeaſes both of the one and the other, are never to be healed and taken off, but by Torture and Pain, and great Trouble: Thoſe of the *Mind* by Penance, Watchings, and Faſtings; hard Uſage, and coarſe Fare; Confinements and Mortifications; which, notwithſtanding the Voluntarineſs and Devotion of them, muſt of neceſſity be afflicting and pungent; becauſe the whole Effect of them wou'd be loſt, if we could ſuppoſe them in any degree ſubſervient to Eaſe and Pleaſure. Thoſe of the *Body* require nauſeous Medicines, Inciſions, Cauſticks, and ſevere Dietings; as They whoſe Unhappineſs it is to be oblig'd to a Courſe of Phyſick, know by woful Experience. They are got between the Mill-ſtones (as they ſay) ground and bruiſed on one ſide by the Diſeaſe, and on the other by a Regimen as bad as the Diſeaſe. Thus Ignorance is cured by long laborious Study; Poverty by Sweat and Toil; and Care and Trouble are as natural in all the Proviſions for Body and Mind both, as it is for Birds to fly.

9. *Miſeries of the Mind.*

The ſeveral Miſeries hitherto inſiſted on, are ſuch as the Body ſuffers in; or, if not peculiar to that alone, yet at leaſt ſuch as it bears a part in with the Mind; and the higheſt they go, is only to the meaneſt of our Faculties, *Imagination* and *Fancy*. But Thoſe, which next fall under our Conſideration, are of the moſt refin'd and Spiritual Nature, ſuch as are more truly deſerving of that Name; full of Error; full of Malignity; their Activity greater, their Influence more general, more pernicious, and more properly our own; and yet at the

ſame time leſs acknowledg'd, leſs perceiv'd by us. And this enhances, nay, doubles Man's Miſery; that of moderate Evils he hath a quick and tender Senſe, but thoſe which are greateſt, he knows not, feels not at all. Nor can he bear to be inform'd of them. No Body dares mention them to him; none will do the ingrateful good Office of touching this ſore Place; ſo harden'd, ſo obſtinate, ſo loſt is he in his Miſery. All therefore that can be allow'd us in the Caſe, is to handle them with all imaginable Gentleneſs, and juſt glance upon them by the by; or rather, indeed, to point them out at a diſtance, and give him ſome little Hints to exerciſe his own Thoughts upon, ſince of his own accord he is by no means diſpoſed to take any Notice of them. And Firſt,

The Underſtanding. In reſpect of the *Underſtanding*; Is it not a moſt prodigious, and moſt lamentable Conſideration, that *Humane Nature* ſhould be ſo univerſally tainted with *Error* and *Blindneſs*? Moſt Vulgar Opinions (and commonly the more general, in a more eminent manner) are erroneous and falſe; not exempting even thoſe that are receiv'd with the greateſt Reverence and Applauſe. Nor are theſe ſo Sacred Notions falſe only; but, which is worſe, very many of them miſchievous to Humane Society, and the Publick Good. And tho' ſome Wiſe Men (and they alas! but very few) think more correctly of theſe Matters, than the Generality of the World, and have a truer Notion of them; yet even Theſe Men ſometimes ſuffer themſelves to be carry'd down with the Stream; if not always, and in every Point, yet now and then, and upon ſome Occaſions. A Man muſt be very firm and well fixed, to ſtem the Tide; very hardy, and of a ſound Conſtitution, whom an Infection ſo epidemical cannot faſten upon. For, indeed, Opinions that have got Footing every where, and are entertain'd with

with general Applauſe, ſuch as ſcarce any Body dares to contradict, are like a ſweeping Flood, that bears down all before it.

* *Good Heaven! what Errors darken Humane Sight!*
And wrap our Souls in groſs ſubſtantial Night!

† *Blind wretched Man! in what dark Paths of Strife,*
We walk this little Journey of our Life! Creech.

To inſtance in all the Fooliſh Opinions, with which the Generality of Mankind are intoxicated, were much too tedious an Undertaking. But ſome few ſhall be juſt mention'd here, and reſerv'd to their proper Places, for a more full Enlargement upon them; and ſuch are Theſe that follow.

1. The forming a Judgment of Counſels and Deſigns, and pronouncing them Prudent, and Seaſonable, and Good; or the direct contrary; according as they ſucceed well or ill. Whereas the Iſſues of all theſe Things are in no degree at our own Diſpoſal, but depend entirely upon a higher Hand; One, who, as his own Infinite Wiſdom ſees fit, proſpers the moſt unlikely Methods, and defeats the wiſeſt Meaſures, and moſt promiſing Attempts. *See* Book III. Chap. 1.

2. The condemning, and utterly exploding all foreign and ſtrange Things, *Manners*, *Opinions*, *Laws*, *Cuſtoms*, *Obſervances*, and looking upon them as barbarous and wicked, without ever examining into the Matter, or knowing of what Nature and Conſequence they are: And all this, for no other rea- *See* Book II. Chap. 8.

* Proh ſuperi! quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ
Noctis habent?
† O miſeras hominum mentes & pectora cæca,
Qualibus in tenebris vitæ, quantiſque periclis
Degitur hoc ævi quodcunque eſt? *Lucret. Lib.* 2.

ſon, but that they are new to Us, and practiſed only in remote Countries, and different from the Vogue and Uſage of our own. As if We were the common Standard for all the World to take Meaſures by; and nothing could poſſibly be commendable or convenient, but what hath been receiv'd, and is, in requeſt, in that little Spot of Ground, where our particular Lot hath fallen.

See Book IV. Chap. 10.

3. Somewhat diſtant from This, is the eſteeming and extolling Things, becauſe they are *New*, or *Scarce, or Strange*, or *Difficult*; which are the Four powerful Charms, that attract, and get ſo abſolute Aſcendent over Vulgar Souls: And very often it happens, that the Things prized highly upon theſe Accounts, are mere Vanities and Trifles, and have neither intrinſick Goodneſs, nor Uſefulneſs, nor any other Conſideration to recommend them. For what can be more juſtly deſpicable, than That Prince, who is ſaid to value himſelf extremely, upon an Art he had, of ſtanding at a diſtance, and throwing Grains of Millet through the Eye of a Needle?

4. All thoſe Superſtitious Opinions, and unaccountable Whimſies, which debaſe and enſlave the Minds of Children and Women, and all the weak and ignorant Part of Mankind.

Ibid. 5. The eſteeming Men more or leſs, according to their Worldly Advantages; and proportioning not our Reſpects only, but our Opinions too, to their Riches, Honours, and Preferments; as if the Value of a Horſe were to be taken from his Trappings; and the Buyer, to know his good Qualities, and adjuſt his Price, ſhould look no farther than the glittering Bridle and embroider'd Saddle.

6. The rating Things not according to their real, natural, and intrinſick Worth, which oftentimes is conceal'd; but according to the outward Face

and

and Shew; the Pomp and Figure, the Noiſe they make, and the Reputation they have in the World.

7. The thinking, that a Man is ſufficiently revenged of his Enemy, when he kills him; whereas This is to put him under Shelter, and out of the Reach of all manner of Evil, and to expoſe one's own ſelf to it. 'Tis to take away from him all power of Feeling, or being hurt by the Revenge we intend; and that very Act, which deſigns him the greateſt Miſchief, ſets him at perfect Eaſe. This is a Folly that may be reduc'd to the former Head of *Weakneſs*, and is a Branch of That, as well as of *Miſery*.

8. The reckoning it a moſt inſupportable Injury and Unhappineſs, and that a Man becomes an Object of Contempt, for being a *Cuckold*. For how can we poſſibly wrong our Judgment more, than by thinking meanly of a Man, and that he is juſtly ridiculous and deſpicable, for the Fault of another; which he is ſo far from having any hand in, that 'tis plain he never approved it? The Caſe is much the ſame in our having a worſe Opinion of any Man, for being a *Baſtard*.

9. The diſeſteeming what is preſent, and our own, and ſuch as we are in ſecure and peaceable poſſeſſion of; and being infinitely fond of the very ſame Things when we have them not, and merely becauſe they belong to ſome Body elſe. As if Preſence and Poſſeſſion abated the real Worth of a Thing; and the not having it were a Recommendation ſufficient to raiſe the Price of it in our Accounts.

* *Poor*

* *Poor Envious We, deſpiſe*
Virtue when preſent; when it flies,
Stand and gaze after it with longing Eyes. Creech.

Hence came the Proverb of *No Prophet being receiv'd with Honour in his own Country.* Thus to lower the Value of any Thing, there needs no more than to be the Owner and Enjoyer of it: Thus Husbands look upon their own Wives, and Fathers upon their Children, with Indifference and Diſdain. If *you would put an End to your Love,* (ſay the Men of the *Town*) *Marry your Miſtreſs, and the Buſineſs is done effectually.* Thus every Other Man's Servant is better, his Horſe fleeter, his Houſe more convenient than our Own. 'Tis pretty odd, I confeſs, to prefer Things purely imaginary, before Thoſe that are real and ſubſtantial; and yet this is the Caſe of that unreaſonable Valuation we put upon Things that are abſent, and at a diſtance, and other Peoples; upon Things before we have them, and after we have loſt them. The Reaſon of ſo unequal a Proceeding in theſe two Caſes laſt mention'd, ſeems to be this; That the Value we ſet upon things before we have them, is not proportion'd to their real intrinſick Worth, but to the falſe Idea's our own Imaginations form, or the vain Boaſts other People make of them; both which are always bigger and more beautiful than the Life: But Poſſeſſion and Experience diſcover the Truth, and then we learn to rate them after the Excellence they actually have, and the Benefit that can be made out of them. Again; The Things we have loſt are look'd upon with Melancholy, and much Regret, becauſe then we conſider them entire, and in the

* Virtutem incolumem odimus.
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi. *Horat. Ode* 24. *Lib* 1.

Groſs,

Groſs, whereas the Uſe and Enjoyment we had of them was not ſo, but by Piece-meals, and by little at a time. In which Men are commonly much more unkind to Themſelves, than they need to be: For they defer their own Happineſs, reſerve it for a farther Day, and always promiſe themſelves Time and Opportunities enough for enjoying it hereafter; ſo that even what they have, they are ſo ſtingy in the uſe of, that they are ſcarce ſenſible of what they poſſeſs; and it is in a manner all one as if they had it not. And This ſeems to be the true account, why the Paſſion and Concern for our Loſſes and our Wants, is more vehement and viſible, than the Pleaſures and Satisfactions taken in what we poſſeſs. And in this no doubt we muſt allow a great Mixture of *Weakneſs* as well as *Miſery*. We are not ſufficient for full and perfect Enjoyment, and only capable of Deſiring intenſely and in perfection. There is indeed a vicious Temper of the Mind, directly oppoſite to That I have been ſpeaking of; which is, That Degree of Self-ſufficiency and Satisfaction, that whatever We are, or have, appears to us incomparably better than all the World beſides. We can be pleas'd, nay, we can be in common Charity with nothing but our Own; and whatever is ſo, nothing can be ſuperior, nothing equal, nothing like or comparable to it. I dare not ſay this Quality argues Men any Wiſer than the other; but all the World, I believe, will admit, that it makes them Eaſier, and contributes much more to their Happineſs and Content.

10. The ſhewing one's ſelf forward and zealous upon all occaſions, to reſent Things warmly, and engage in Diſputes with Peremptorineſs and Paſſion, as often as there is any fair and plauſible Pretence given, of appearing to be a Man affectionately concern'd for Juſtice, or Religion; for promoting the Publick Good, or gaining the Love of the People.

" For

" For as theſe are Things which ought to be very " precious, and no good Man muſt neglect them in " their Seaſons; ſo it requires Diſcretion to chuſe " thoſe Seaſons, and to manage and temper an ho- " neſt Zeal. Every Man that is well-diſpoſed, is " not qualified for the Undertaking; and every " Time and Company is not fit for him that is " qualified to undertake it in.

Chap. XXXIII.

11. The putting on exceſſive Melancholy, *or* ſuffering our ſelves to be really afflicted, and mourn to a great degree, upon the Death of a Friend, or any other Calamity that befals him: And to imagine, that a Moderate degree of Paſſion upon ſuch Occaſions, argues want of Affection and ſincere Friendſhip. This is not only *Miſery*, but an exceeding *Vanity* too, and as common as it is vain.

12. The bearing a very great Regard to thoſe Actions, which require a great deal of buſtle and ſtir in the doing, and make a Noiſe in the World; and to ſlight and undervalue all that are done in a ſtill, ſedate, and obſcure manner: As if no Effects could ever follow upon ſuch a dull, heavy way of proceeding; but all Men were aſleep, and did nothing, that do it not with Hurry and Clutter. In ſhort; All thoſe vain Preferences, which Men give to Art above Nature, are likewiſe of this kind; for One of Theſe, works with Labour and Obſervation; the Other eaſily, quiet, and unſeen. And thus whatever is ſwell'd, and blown up by Induſtry and Invention; that which cracks about our Ears, and ſtrikes ſtrongly upon our Senſes, (and all this is Artificial) we reſpect and value highly; infinitely above That which is mild, and gentle, and ſimple, and uniform, and common; for ſuch are the Products of Nature. The former of Theſe awakens us into Attention; the latter advances ſilently, and leaves, or lays us aſleep.

13. The

13. The putting unfair and perverſe Interpretations upon the good Actions of Others; and when the Thing is well in it ſelf, attributing it to baſe, or trifling, or wicked Cauſes or Occaſions. So did They, whom *Plutarch* is angry with, for pretending, that the Death of *Cato* the Younger proceeded from no other Principle, than his Fear of *Cæſar*; And ſome Others yet more ſenſeleſly, charg'd it upon Ambition. This is a moſt infallible Symptom of a ſick Judgment; a Diſeaſe that proceeds, either from Wickedneſs at home, and a general Corruption of the Will and Manners, diſpoſing Men to pervert every Thing to the worſt Senſe; or elſe from Uneaſineſs and Envy againſt Perſons that are better than Themſelves; or elſe from a Miſ-giving Quality within, which reduces all their Belief to the Compaſs and Size of their own Abilities; ſo meaſuring others by their own Standard; believing every one as bad as they know Themſelves to be; and abſolutely incapable of doing Things better, or propoſing nobler Ends in their Actions, than their own uſually are. Or perhaps, as probable an Account of this as any of the former, may be a Natural Weakneſs and Littleneſs of Soul, which, like tender Eyes, cannot bear to look at ſo ſtrong and clear a Light, as that which Virtue ſheds, when Pure, and in its native Beauties. Nor is it amiſs here to take notice of a Practice exceeding common; which is, Men's affecting to ſhew the *Nicety* of their *Judgment*, and the *Smartneſs* of their *Wit*, in finding Faults, ſuppreſſing, extenuating, diſguiſing Circumſtances, ſetting Things in their worſt Light, and eclipſing the Glory of the braveſt Actions. In all which, one would wonder they ſhould ſuppoſe any Thing worth valuing themſelves upon; ſince it is manifeſt, all Dexterity of this kind is a much greater Demonſtration of their

Ill-

few Strokes and Illuſtrations, and ſo naturaliz'd, and made all our Own? And what can we make of this, but a work of *Memory*; the Excellency of a School-Boy, and That which requires very little Brains or Trouble, as to all that part which we pick up from Authors, and find ready cut to our Hands; And the Work of *Imagination*, for thoſe little Graces and Garnitures, which make up the much leſs part, added by our Selves? *This* oftentimes is mere Vanity; no one Stroke of a Judicious Man, no one eminently Good Quality diſcernible in it; and accordingly the Authors themſelves, under whoſe Names good Things are publiſhed, are often known to be Perſons of weak Parts, and very indifferent Judgment; looſe in their *Principles*, and debauch'd in their *Morals*. And how much better than all this is it, to hear a good honeſt Farmer, or a common Shopkeeper, talking in their own Gibberiſh, plain downright Truths, in a dry rough way, without Trick or Dreſs to adorn and ſet them off; and giving good uſeful Advice, which is the Natural Product of ſound Senſe, and an unſophiſticated Judgment?

10. *The Will.* Thus much for our *Underſtanding*. The *Will* is in no degree inferiour in Miſery, but *hath at* leaſt as many Sources; and the Inſtances of it are more deplorable, than any under the former Head. Theſe are indeed innumerable; ſome few of them are ſuch as follow.

1. The being more deſirous to be *thought* Virtuous and Good, than really to *be* ſo; and when one does good Actions, doing them more for the ſake of Others, than our Own; making Reputation a more powerful Motive and Principle of Virtue, than Conſcience; coveting and taking greater Satisfaction in the Commendation and Applauſe of the World,

World, than in the ſecret Conſciouſneſs and Comfort of having done our Duty.

2. The being much more forward and eager to *revenge* an Injury or Affront, than to *acknowledge* a Favour, and return a Kindneſs. Inſomuch that to own an Obligation is a perfect Trouble and Mortification, a leſſening one's ſelf; but the taking Satisfaction reputed a Pleaſure, a Pride, an Advantage. And what can be a greater Reproach to our Nature, what more betray the Baſeneſs and Malignity of it, than the verifying that Obſervation; * *Thanks are a Toil and a Burden; but a Retaliation of Injuries is eſteem'd an Addition, and a Gain?*

3. The being more violent and fierce in the Paſſion of *Hatred*, than in that of *Love*; more diſpoſed to, more vehement in Detraction and Calumnies, than in our Commendations and good Characters of Men and Actions; to feed upon Evil rather than Good; and entertain ill Reports, and an odious Repreſentation of our Neighbour, with more ſenſible Reliſh than his Praiſes; To enlarge more willingly upon theſe, allow them a greater Share in our Converſation, to employ one's Wit, and Arts of Expreſſion upon this Subject rather than the contrary. As the Generality of Hiſtorians, Orators, and Poets do, who are cold and flat in relating Men's *Virtues*, but ſharp and poignant, eloquent, and moving in the Deſcription of their *Vices*. And thus we find, that the Expreſſions, and Figures of Rhetorick, which ſerve to expoſe and blacken Men and Things, are mighty different, much more full and copious, more emphatical and ſignificative, than thoſe which are employ'd in Recommendation and Praiſe.

* Gratia oneri eſt, Ultio in quæſtu habetur.

Book II. Chap. 3.

4. The declining Evil, and addicting one's ſelf to Good, upon falſe and improper Ends; when this is not the reſult of Virtuous Motions and Inclinations from within, nor the Dictate of Natural Reaſon, nor the Love of Virtue, nor the Senſe of Duty; but ſome Conſideration altogether foreign, and wide of the Matter. Some mean and ſordid Proſpect of Gain and Intereſt; the Itch of Vain-glory, the Hope of Advancement, the Fear of Reproach, Compliance with Cuſtom, Obſequiouſneſs to the Company; and, in a Word, the not doing Good for the ſake of doing it, and becauſe it becomes us, and binds our Conſcience; but upon ſome occaſional Motive, and external Circumſtance, that happen'd to fall in with us at that time. And at this rate, the greateſt Part of Mankind are only good by chance. Which gives the true Reaſon of their being ſo extremely various, and unequal, and fickle, and inconſiſtent with Themſelves; for ſo muſt all Things needs be, that are govern'd by Impulſe and Accident; and nothing but true and well-weigh'd Principles, grounded upon Duty and Reaſon, can produce a ſteady, conſtant, and uniform Virtue.

5. The leſſening our Affection for the Perſons we have wrong'd, and that for no other Reaſon, but merely becauſe we have done them an Injury. Is not this very odd? What Account can be given of it? We cannot pretend that this Coldneſs always proceeds from Apprehenſions of Revenge; for perhaps the injur'd Party hath no ſuch Thought, and is as kindly diſpos'd to Us as ever: But the Reaſon ſeems to be, that the very Sight and Remembrance of him accuſes us to our ſelves, and our Conſcience takes theſe Occaſions to fly in our Faces, and reproach our Baſeneſs and Indiſcretion. So that if the Perſon offending does not abate of his Kindneſs, this is a good Argument that he did not

not offend wilfully, and is not conscious to himself of any thing that can give him a just Dissatisfaction at his own Proceedings. For, commonly speaking, Every one that offends knowingly, and, with a malicious Design, changes in his Affection afterwards, and either turns an Enemy, or at least very cold and indifferent; according to that usual Proverb, * *He that does the Wrong never forgives.*

6. An Observation not much unlike the former, may be made, concerning Persons who have highly oblig'd us: The Sight of such is often an Uneasiness; it upbraids us with a Debt, and awakens ungrateful Remembrances of our Want, either of Disposition, or of Power to requite them. Nay, sometimes Men are so abominably wicked, as even to rejoyce at the Death of a Benefactor, because it eases them of this sort of Pain, according to the Remark of an Old Author; *Some, the more they have been oblig'd, the worse they hate: A small Debt makes a Man your Friend, but a great one will be sure to make him your Enemy.*

7. The taking Delight in Mischief; being glad at the Pains, and Dangers, and Difficulties of other People; and conceiving a secret Indignation and Displeasure at their Prosperity and Promotion. Nor do I mean here any such Envy or Uneasiness as proceeds from Passion and particular Resentment; for this is chargeable upon the Vices of single Persons only. But the Thing I aim at is the common Temper, and natural Condition of Mankind in general, which, without any Pique, or Spleen, or Provocation, disposes even Good Men † to receive a sort of Satisfaction from the Risques of Men in Seas and Storms; to be an-

* Chi offende mai non pardonna.

† Suave Mari magno, &c. *Lib.* 2.

gry at any Preference of our Friends before us, either in Point of Merit or Fortune; to laugh at any little Misfortune that happens to them *; All this argues the Seeds of Ill-Nature to be thick ſown, and to have taken deep Root in us.

" The Firſt of theſe Inſtances, which, of all the " reſt, ſeems moſt hard-hearted, *Lucretius* gives a " much more innocent account of, and acquits it " of the ſevere Imputation laid upon it here, in " the beginning of his *Second Book.* And, indeed, " what is ſaid there upon that one Inſtance, is " applicable to all here mention'd, which are " owing to the Love of our Selves, and com- " paring our own Caſe with that of other Peo- " ple.

'Tis pleaſant when the Seas are rough, to ſtand,
And view another's Danger, ſafe at Land;
Not 'cauſe he's troubled; but 'tis ſweet to ſee
Thoſe Cares and Fears, from which our ſelves are free.
Mr. Creech.

" And ſure there is a great difference between Ma- " lignity and Self-Love; between Tenderneſs for " our own Safety, and a Malicious Joy in Cala- " mities and Dangers.

11. *Concluſion of Spiritual Miſeries.* In a Word; To give you a true Repreſentation of the Greatneſs of our *Miſery*, I only add, That the World abounds with Three ſorts of Men, which out-do all the reſt, both in Number and Reputation; and thoſe are the *Superſtitious*, the *Formal*, and the *Pedantick*; Theſe, tho' they are concern'd in different Matters, move by different Springs, and act upon different Stages, (for the Three principal Topicks are *Religion*, *Common Converſation*, and *Learning*; and each of theſe is the Field appropriated to each of theſe Perſons; *Religion*

ligion to the *Superſtitious*; *Common Converſation*, and the Dealings of Humane Life, to the *Formal*; and *Learning* to the *Pedants*) But theſe, I ſay, tho' engag'd in Matters ſo diſtant, are yet all caſt in the ſame Mould, and agree in their general Qualities and Characters; That they are all weak and mean Souls, extremely defective either in Natural or Acquir'd Abilities, incapable or ignorant; Men of dangerous Opinions, ſick Judgments, nay, ſick of a Diſeaſe that ſcarce ever admits of a Recovery. For all the Pains and Trouble you give your ſelf to inſtruct theſe Men better, is but ſo much Time and Labour loſt upon them: They are ſo much in the wrong, and ſo highly conceited, that none who differ from them can be in the right, that no Good is ever to be done. If you will take their Judgments, none are comparable to themſelves for *Virtue* or for *Wiſdom*. *Obſtinacy* and *Self-ſufficiency*, which every where hath too great an Aſcendent, reigns Abſolute here, and is in its proper Kingdom. Whoever hath once drunk in the Infection of theſe Evils, there are little or no Hopes left of ever making him a ſound Man again. For what is there more exquiſitely fooliſh, what more ſtiff and inflexible than theſe Fellows? They are ſecur'd by a double Barrier from the Conqueſts of Reaſon and Perſuaſion; Firſt, by their Weakneſs, and Natural Incapacity, which diſables them from ſeeing the Strength of Arguments and Reproofs; and then by a falſe Confidence in their own Excellencies above the reſt of the World, which makes them deſpiſe all Others, as their Inferiors, unable to adviſe, and unfit to reform Thoſe, who are already ſo much wiſer and better than They.

The Superſtitious.

As for the *Superſtitious*, they are highly injurious to God, and dangerous Enemies to True Religion. They diſguiſe themſelves with a Mask of

See Book II. Chap. 5.

gry at any Preference of our Friends before us, either in Point of Merit or Fortune; to laugh at any little Misfortune that happens to them *; All this argues the Seeds of Ill-Nature to be thick ſown, and to have taken deep Root in us.

" The Firſt of theſe Inſtances, which, of all the " reſt, ſeems moſt hard-hearted, *Lucretius* gives a " much more innocent account of, and acquits it " of the ſevere Imputation laid upon it here, in " the beginning of his *Second Book.* And, indeed, " what is ſaid there upon that one Inſtance, is " applicable to all here mention'd, which are " owing to the Love of our Selves, and com- " paring our own Caſe with that of other Peo- " ple.

'Tis pleaſant when the Seas are rough, to ſtand,
And view another's Danger, ſafe at Land;
Not 'cauſe he's troubled; but 'tis ſweet to ſee
Thoſe Cares and Fears, from which our ſelves are free.
Mr. Creech.

" And ſure there is a great difference between Ma- " lignity and Self-Love; between Tenderneſs for " our own Safety, and a Malicious Joy in Cala- " mities and Dangers.

11. *Concluſion of Spiritual Miſeries.* In a Word; To give you a true Repreſentation of the Greatneſs of our *Miſery*, I only add, That the World abounds with Three ſorts of Men, which out-do all the reſt, both in Number and Reputation; and thoſe are the *Superſtitious*, the *Formal*, and the *Pedantick*; Theſe, tho' they are concern'd in different Matters, move by different Springs, and act upon different Stages, (for the Three principal Topicks are *Religion*, *Common Converſation*, and *Learning*; and each of theſe is the Field appropriated to each of theſe Perſons; *Religion*

ligion to the *Superstitious*; *Common Conversation*, and the Dealings of Humane Life, to the *Formal*; and *Learning* to the *Pedants*) But these, I say, tho' engag'd in Matters so distant, are yet all cast in the same Mould, and agree in their general Qualities and Characters; That they are all weak and mean Souls, extremely defective either in Natural or Acquir'd Abilities, incapable or ignorant; Men of dangerous Opinions, sick Judgments, nay, sick of a Disease that scarce ever admits of a Recovery. For all the Pains and Trouble you give your self to instruct these Men better, is but so much Time and Labour lost upon them: They are so much in the wrong, and so highly conceited, that none who differ from them can be in the right, that no Good is ever to be done. If you will take their Judgments, none are comparable to themselves for *Virtue* or for *Wisdom*. *Obstinacy* and *Self-sufficiency*, which every where hath too great an Ascendent, reigns Absolute here, and is in its proper Kingdom. Whoever hath once drunk in the Infection of these Evils, there are little or no Hopes left of ever making him a sound Man again. For what is there more exquisitely foolish, what more stiff and inflexible than these Fellows? They are secur'd by a double Barrier from the Conquests of Reason and Persuasion; First, by their Weakness, and Natural Incapacity, which disables them from seeing the Strength of Arguments and Reproofs; and then by a false Confidence in their own Excellencies above the rest of the World, which makes them despise all Others, as their Inferiors, unable to advise, and unfit to reform Those, who are already so much wiser and better than They.

The Superstitious.

As for the *Superstitious*, they are highly injurious to God, and dangerous Enemies to True Religion. They disguise themselves with a Mask of Piety

See Book II. Chap. 5.

gry at any Preference of our Friends before us, either in Point of Merit or Fortune; to laugh at any little Misfortune that happens to them *; All this argues the Seeds of Ill-Nature to be thick ſown, and to have taken deep Root in us.

" The Firſt of theſe Inſtances, which, of all the " reſt, ſeems moſt hard-hearted, *Lucretius* gives a " much more innocent account of, and acquits it " of the ſevere Imputation laid upon it here, in " the beginning of his *Second Book.* And, indeed, " what is ſaid there upon that one Inſtance, is " applicable to all here mention'd, which are " owing to the Love of our Selves, and com- " paring our own Caſe with that of other Peo- " ple.

'Tis pleaſant when the Seas are rough, to ſtand,
And view another's Danger, ſafe at Land;
Not 'cauſe he's troubled; but 'tis ſweet to ſee
Thoſe Cares and Fears, from which our ſelves are free.
Mr. Creech.

" And ſure there is a great difference between Ma- " lignity and Self-Love; between Tenderneſs for " our own Safety, and a Malicious Joy in Cala- " mities and Dangers.

11. *Concluſion of Spiritual Miſeries.* In a Word; To give you a true Repreſentation of the Greatneſs of our *Miſery*, I only add, That the World abounds with Three ſorts of Men, which out-do all the reſt, both in Number and Reputation; and thoſe are the *Superſtitious*, the *Formal*, and the *Pedantick*; Theſe, tho' they are concern'd in different Matters, move by different Springs, and act upon different Stages, (for the Three principal Topicks are *Religion*, *Common Converſation*, and *Learning*; and each of theſe is the Field appropriated to each of theſe Perſons; *Religion*

ligion to the *Superſtitious*; *Common Converſation*, and the Dealings of Humane Life, to the *Formal*; and *Learning* to the *Pedants*) But theſe, I ſay, tho' engag'd in Matters ſo diſtant, are yet all caſt in the ſame Mould, and agree in their general Qualities and Characters; That they are all weak and mean Souls, extremely defective either in Natural or Acquir'd Abilities, incapable or ignorant; Men of dangerous Opinions, ſick Judgments, nay, ſick of a Diſeaſe that ſcarce ever admits of a Recovery. For all the Pains and Trouble you give your ſelf to inſtruct theſe Men better, is but ſo much Time and Labour loſt upon them: They are ſo much in the wrong, and ſo highly conceited, that none who differ from them can be in the right, that no Good is ever to be done. If you will take their Judgments, none are comparable to themſelves for *Virtue* or for *Wiſdom*. *Obſtinacy* and *Self-ſufficiency*, which every where hath too great an Aſcendent, reigns Abſolute here, and is in its proper Kingdom. Whoever hath once drunk in the Infection of theſe Evils, there are little or no Hopes left of ever making him a ſound Man again. For what is there more exquiſitely fooliſh, what more ſtiff and inflexible than theſe Fellows? They are ſecur'd by a double Barrier from the Conqueſts of Reaſon and Perſuaſion; Firſt, by their Weakneſs, and Natural Incapacity, which diſables them from ſeeing the Strength of Arguments and Reproofs; and then by a falſe Confidence in their own Excellencies above the reſt of the World, which makes them deſpiſe all Others, as their Inferiors, unable to adviſe, and unfit to reform Thoſe, who are already ſo much wiſer and better than They.

The Superſtitious.

As for the *Superſtitious*, they are highly injurious to God, and dangerous Enemies to True Religion. They diſguiſe themſelves with a Mask of Piety

See Book II. Chap. 5.

gry at any Preference of our Friends before us, either in Point of Merit or Fortune; to laugh at any little Misfortune that happens to them *; All this argues the Seeds of Ill-Nature to be thick ſown, and to have taken deep Root in us.

" The Firſt of theſe Inſtances, which, of all the " reſt, ſeems moſt hard-hearted, *Lucretius* gives a " much more innocent account of, and acquits it " of the ſevere Imputation laid upon it here, in " the beginning of his *Second Book.* And, indeed, " what is ſaid there upon that one Inſtance, is " applicable to all here mention'd, which are " owing to the Love of our Selves, and com- " paring our own Caſe with that of other Peo- " ple.

'Tis pleaſant when the Seas are rough, to ſtand,
And view another's Danger, ſafe at Land;
Not 'cauſe he's troubled; but 'tis ſweet to ſee
Thoſe Cares and Fears, from which our ſelves are free.
Mr. Creech.

" And ſure there is a great difference between Ma- " lignity and Self-Love; between Tenderneſs for " our own Safety, and a Malicious Joy in Cala- " mities and Dangers.

11. *Concluſion of Spiritual Miſeries.* In a Word; To give you a true Repreſentation of the Greatneſs of our *Miſery*, I only add, That the World abounds with Three ſorts of Men, which out-do all the reſt, both in Number and Reputation; and thoſe are the *Superſtitious*, the *Formal*, and the *Pedantick*; Theſe, tho' they are concern'd in different Matters, move by different Springs, and act upon different Stages, (for the Three principal Topicks are *Religion*, *Common Converſation*, and *Learning*; and each of theſe is the Field appropriated to each of theſe Perſons; *Religion*

ligion to the *Superſtitious*; *Common Converſation*, and the Dealings of Humane Life, to the *Formal*; and *Learning* to the *Pedants*) But theſe, I ſay, tho' engag'd in Matters ſo diſtant, are yet all caſt in the ſame Mould, and agree in their general Qualities and Characters; That they are all weak and mean Souls, extremely defective either in Natural or Acquir'd Abilities, incapable or ignorant; Men of dangerous Opinions, ſick Judgments, nay, ſick of a Diſeaſe that ſcarce ever admits of a Recovery. For all the Pains and Trouble you give your ſelf to inſtruct theſe Men better, is but ſo much Time and Labour loſt upon them: They are ſo much in the wrong, and ſo highly conceited, that none who differ from them can be in the right, that no Good is ever to be done. If you will take their Judgments, none are comparable to themſelves for *Virtue* or for *Wiſdom*. *Obſtinacy* and *Self-ſufficiency*, which every where hath too great an Aſcendent, reigns Abſolute here, and is in its proper Kingdom. Whoever hath once drunk in the Infection of theſe Evils, there are little or no Hopes left of ever making him a ſound Man again. For what is there more exquiſitely fooliſh, what more ſtiff and inflexible than theſe Fellows? They are ſecur'd by a double Barrier from the Conqueſts of Reaſon and Perſuaſion; Firſt, by their Weakneſs, and Natural Incapacity, which diſables them from ſeeing the Strength of Arguments and Reproofs; and then by a falſe Confidence in their own Excellencies above the reſt of the World, which makes them deſpiſe all Others, as their Inferiors, unable to adviſe, and unfit to reform Thoſe, who are already ſo much wiſer and better than They.

The Superſtitious.

As for the *Superſtitious*, they are highly injurious to God, and dangerous Enemies to True Religion. They diſguiſe themſelves with a Mask of Piety

See Book II. Chap. 5.

Piety, and Zeal, and Reverence, and Love for God; and this Jeſt they carry ſo far, as to teaze and torment themſelves with Auſterities and Sufferings, that were never requir'd at their Hands. And what is to be done with ſuch infatuated Wretches as theſe, who imagine that thoſe voluntary Afflictions are highly meritorious; that the Almighty is indebted to them, and much oblig'd by Works which he never commanded; and that *all* the reſt ought to be releas'd in Conſideration of theſe? Tell them, they take Things by the wrong Handle; that they ſtretch, and pervert, and miſunderſtand the Scriptures, and lay Burdens upon themſelves more and heavier than God ever laid. Their Anſwer is, that They intend well; (and that Intention they doubt not will ſave them) that what they do is from a Principle of Piety and Devotion, and cannot want Merit or Acceptance upon that Account. Beſides, there is ſomething of Intereſt in all this, which you can never prevail with them to part with; for what Gain is to be propoſed in Proſpect, what Satisfaction to be receiv'd in Preſent, which can make them amends for the mighty Expectations and Raptures of that fond Notion, that by this means God becomes Their *Debtor*, and they *Merit* at His Hands.

Formaliſts. The *Formaliſts* are a ſort of People entirely devoted to *Form*, and *Shew*, and Out-ſide; and Theſe think themſelves at liberty to indulge their Paſſions, and gratify any, though never ſo unlawful, Deſires, without Check and Controul, provided they do not offend againſt the Letter of the Law, nor omit any of thoſe External Obſervances, which are required in their Behaviour, and look'd upon as the Rules of Living. Here you ſhall ſee an old griping Jew, that hath brought God knows how many Families to Beggary and Ruine; but he hath done no hurt in all this: For he never ask'd for more

more than his Own, at leaſt, what he thought ſo; and if upon theſe Demands, Arreſts, and Suits, and Priſons have enſu'd, yet he only ſuffer'd the Law to take its Courſe; and who can blame this honeſt Man for coming by his Right in the way of Juſtice? But O Good God! how many good Things are neglected, and how many wicked and barbarous Things done, under the Pretence of *Forms*, and the Protection of the *Laws!* Nothing can be truer, than that *Extremity of Right is Extremity of Wrong.* He that makes this the Rule of all his Proceedings, and allows himſelf to take the Advantage of the Law upon every Occaſion, is ſo far from an *honeſt Man*, that he is one of the moſt *dangerous Knaves.* Such Reaſon was there for that Saying us'd to this Purpoſe, *God deliver us from the Formaliſts.*

By *Pedants*, I mean a ſort of prating Fellows, who firſt tumble over Books with great Pains and Study, and afterwards let fly in all Companies, and vend all they have pick'd up in their Reading, with as much Impertinenee and Oſtentation; and all this too, to turn a Penny, and promote their Intereſt or their Credit by it. There are not in the World a Pack of more little Mercenary Wretches, more unfit for Buſineſs, and yet at the ſame time more forward, and preſuming, and conceited of Themſelves. Hence perhaps it is, that in all Countries, and all Languages, *Pedant* and *Scholar* are Terms of *Ridicule* and *Reproach.* To do a Thing aukwardly, is to do it like a *Scholar.* To behave one's ſelf like a Clown, and be ignorant of the World, is to be a *mere Scholar.* Such Scholars, I mean, as theſe, I am now treating of; for theſe Reflections do not concern Learned Men in general, but ſuch ſuperficial Pretenders to it, as are only walking and living *Nomenclatures*; that have a Memory ſtuff'd full of other Men's Know-

ledge, but none at all of their Own. Their Judgment, their Will, and their Conſciences are not one whit improved by it; They are never the wiſer, nor more prudent; never the more dextrous in Buſineſs, nor the more honeſt and virtuous, for all the Schemes and Inſtitutions they have run thro'. They can repeat theſe, but they have not digeſted them; are Maſters of the Speculative Part, but know nothing of the Application and Practice. So that all the Fruit of their Study is but to make them the more acquir'd, more egregious Fools; more full of Themſelves, and more noiſy and inſupportable in all Companies. They ſwell their Memory, but ſink their Wit, and adulterate their Underſtandings. And in ſuch Perſons as theſe, that *Miſery* is moſt conſpicuous, which we lately plac'd the laſt of that ſort, with which the Intellectual Faculty of the Mind ſeems principally affected.

See Parag. 9. Fig. 15.

CHAP. XL.

V. *Preſumption.*

1. WE are now come to the laſt and moſt hideous Line of the whole Picture; which makes up the other Branch of *Pliny*'s Deſcription; For this is indeed the Deformity of our Nature, the Bane of our Minds, the Source of the worſt and moſt erroneous Opinions, both Publick and Private; and yet, as bad as it is, 'tis a Vice natural to, and born with, every Man. Now we ſhall do well to conſider this *Preſumption* in its ſeveral Reſpects, above, below, upon the level, within, and without us. As the Object is God, and the Cele-

Celeſtial Bodies, Terreſtrial Bodies, and Beaſts; Man our Equal, and our own Selves: And the whole Matter will turn at laſt upon theſe Two Points, The ſetting too high an Eſtimate upon our Own, and too low upon other Things; every Man in this Senſe deſerving the Character given by our Bleſſed Saviour, of the *Phariſees, They truſted in Themſelves, and deſpiſed Others.* A Word or two now upon each of the fore-mentioned Particulars.

2. *Preſumption in reſpect of God.*

And Firſt, with regard to Almighty God, (it is a horrible and melancholy Truth, but true it is, that) all Superſtition and falſe Worſhip, the affected Exceſſes, and the wilful Defects in our Religious Services, are entirely owing to the want of a ſufficient Eſteem and Reverence for God; the not being ſenſible what ſort of Being He is, and entertaining ſuch Opinions and Idea's of the Divine Nature, as are not ſufficiently lofty, and pure, and refined. Now by ſaying *ſufficiently* ſo, I would not be underſtood, that our Apprehenſions ſhould bear any proportion to the Eſſential Greatneſs of his Majeſty; for God is Infinite, and admits of no proportion at all. Conſequently there is no poſſibility in Nature, that our Conceptions ſhould ever ſoar up to ſuch a height and *ſufficiency* as This; and therefore I mean that *ſufficiency* only to be wanting, which Nature hath made us capable of, and Duty requires from us. We do not raiſe nor direct our Minds, nor dart our Thoughts ſtrong, or high enough, when we form Notions of the Divinity: Alas! why do I ſay, not high and ſtrong enough? when it is but too evident, and our Actions ſpeak it out, that we entertain very feeble, and mean, and low Apprehenſions of him. And we ſerve him indeed accordingly; we offer him Things moſt unworthy of him, and deal with him more baſely and diſreſpectfully, than we pretend, or dare, to do, with ſeveral of his Creatures.

We

We diſcourſe, not of his *Works* only, (which yet command ſome Regard becauſe they are His) but we talk of his *Eſſence* and *Majeſty*, determine his *Will*, interpret his *Judgments*, paſs Sentence upon the *Diſpenſations of his Providence*, and all this more peremptorily, more ſawcily, than any Man of good Manners would take upon him to do, with the Counſels and Proceedings of his Prince. And yet every one thinks he may make bold with his God in Caſes, where to uſe the ſame Freedoms with any Perſon of Honour, would be condemned for inſufferable Rudeneſs and Contempt. A great many Men would reject ſuch Service and Homage, and think themſelves highly injured and affronted, if we ſhould talk ſo meanly of them, and make uſe of their Name upon ſuch trifling Occaſions, and in ſo contemptuous a manner as we do that of God. We undertake to manage him, go about to flatter and careſs, to bend and bring him over, to bribe and to compound with him; nay, I might tremble to ſay it, ſome think even to brave and dare him, to ſnarle and grumble, to take things ill, and be exceeding angry at him. *Cæſar* bad his Pilot hoiſt Sails boldly, and fear nothing tho' Winds and Seas, and Stars and Fate were againſt him, but buoy himſelf up with this Confidence, in oppoſition to all Difficulties, *That He who had* Cæſar *aboard, could not miſcarry. Auguſtus*, after having been Tempeſt-beaten at Sea, took upon him to ſet *Neptune* at Defiance, and by way of Revenge, ordered his Image to be taken away from among the reſt of the Gods, and excluded the ſolemn Proceſſion at the *Ludi Circenſes*. *Xerxes* ſcourged the Seas, and ſent a Challenge to Mount *Athos*. The *Thracians*, when it Thunders and Lightens, ſhoot Arrows up againſt Heaven, with all their Might, that by this means they may bring the Gods to Reaſon. And there goes a

Story

Story of a certain Chriſtian King, in a neighbouring Country, whom when God had ſeverely chaſtized, he ſwore he would be revenged on him; and to make his Words good, commanded, *That for Ten Years next enſuing, no Perſon within his Dominions ſhould dare to put up any Prayers to God, or make mention of his Name any other way.*

* *Nought is too hard for Man.*
Grown Giants in Impiety.
Our Impious Folly dares the Sky.
We dare aſſault Jove's *glorious Throne,*
Nor (ſtill averſe to his Command)
Will we permit his lifted Hand
To lay his Thunder down. Creech.

But not to inſiſt longer upon ſuch prodigious Extravagances, Does not the general Temper and Practice of Mankind juſtifie that Character given by *Pliny*; *That no Creature is more miſerable, and yet none more proud than Man?* For, on the one hand, he forms to himſelf vaſt Conceits of the particular Love, and Regard, and tender Care God hath for him; thinks himſelf the chief, the only Favourite of Heaven; and yet this Darling ſerves him after a moſt unbecoming manner, and worſe than the pooreſt and moſt deſpicable of all his Creatures. How then ſhall we reconcile theſe Extremes? How can a Life ſo wretched, a Homage ſo poor and baſe, meet and dwell together in the ſame Perſon, with ſuch glorious Notions of Himſelf, and a Preference ſo vaſtly great above all the Creation be-

* Audax Iapeti genus ———
Nil mortalibus arduum.
Cœlum ipſum petimus ſtultitiâ, neque
Per noſtrum patimur ſcelus
Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina. *Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 3.*

ſides?

ſides? Is not This to be an Angel and a Swine at once? And indeed Men, who entertain theſe Opinions, and diſhonour God, by living in a Diſagreement with them (as the generality of Mankind do) muſt be content to bear the Reproach of a great Philoſopher to ſome Vicious and Hypocritical Chriſtians; *That they were the braveſt Fellows in the World at talking, but the pitifulleſt and moſt contemptible Wretches in their Lives and Actions.*

3. *Nature.* We are apt to think our Selves of Moment, and great Conſequence to *God*, to the *World*, and to *Nature* in general. That all Theſe are in great Pain and Anxiety upon our Account; That They only watch for our Safety and Preſervation; and This makes us look upon *Calamitous Accidents* with Surpriſe; but eſpecially, to be perfectly aſtoniſh'd at *Death*, as if it were a moſt ſtrange Thing how That ſhould break in upon us, notwithſtanding ſo many Guards that keep Centry about our Perſons, and are all (as we imagine) concern'd to ſecure us from it. For this, among other Reaſons, few People ever perſuade themſelves that any Hour is their laſt; but almoſt every Body, ſuffers himſelf to be cheated with falſe Hopes, at the very Inſtant of expiring. And what is all This but Preſumption? We think our ſelves too ſignificant; and fondly fancy, that this whole Univerſe muſt bear a part in our Death; that ſome great and general Revolution will happen upon it; that all things decay in proportion with our own Bodies, and fail one another in the ſame Degrees They fail Us; That there is no avoiding it, but They muſt all undergo the ſame fatal Shock, the ſame Diſſolution that We do. And in this Univerſal Deluſion, Mankind live, like People upon the Water, who, when their own Veſſel moves, ſeem to draw Houſes, and Towns, and Heaven, and Earth along with them. No Body conſiders that he is ſingle, and but

but One; a very ſmall and inconſiderable Part of the Creation: One out of many Millions, whom few have any Intereſt in, and perhaps fewer yet are the worſe for looſing; and the Matter is ſo far from every Body's going along with him, that ſcarce any Body will ſo much as miſs him when he is gone; no more than a Grain of Sand diminiſhes the Sea-ſhore, or the falling of a Star, changes the Face of the Sky.

Then again; *Man* pleaſes himſelf, that the Heaven, the Stars, and all that Glorious Movement over our Heads, and indeed the whole Frame and Order of this Material World, was thus created and conſtituted merely for his Sake: As if that Deſcription of the Heathen were his due, That * *ſo many Gods were perpetually Ambitious, and contending about his ſingle Perſon.* And this is a very extravagant Imagination indeed. He is lodged here in the laſt and loweſt Story of the World, at a great diſtance from the Ætherial Roof; a Place, that in compariſon of the purer Regions above us, may be call'd the Sink of the World, where all the Lees and Dregs ſettle, with Creatures of the meaneſt Condition, and liable to receive all thoſe Evacuations of Rain and Vapours, which fall down upon his Head; nay, from Theſe he receives his very Subſiſtence; he lies open to Accidents, that beſet and oppreſs him on every Side; and yet this poor Wretch looks upon himſelf as the Maſter and Commander in Chief of the Univerſe. 'Tis true indeed, Almighty God hath given him a Dominion over ſome of his Fellow Creatures; and it is likewiſe true, that the reſt over which he hath not the ſame Dominion, are contriv'd for his Mighty Benefit and Convenience; but it will not follow 4.

* Tot circa unum caput tumultuantes Deos.

from

" Impiety at all in it, but pretends to conſult the " Glory of God, by exciting Men to a greater " Admiration of his Infinite Power, and Wiſdom, " and Goodneſs, exerted in ſo much a greater Va- " riety of Creatures, than what we are or can be " acquainted with, I thought it not amiſs to in- " ſert it here; though, as I ſaid, 'tis a Notion on- " ly; and what, as we cannot have an abſolute " Certainty for, ſo we have none againſt it. " If Reaſon give any Countenance to this Specu- " lation, Revelation no where forbids it. For " *Moſes*, who made it his Buſineſs to deſcribe the " World we inhabit, had no Reaſon to mention " Others, in which we have no Concern; and " his not mentioning Them, was agreeable to the " Deſign of his Hiſtory; but does not exclude " the Reality or Poſſibility of any ſuch other Sy- " ſtems, as were foreign to his Purpoſe, and ſo " in no Degree neceſſary to be taken Notice of. " The Reader, if he be deſirous of farther Satiſ- " faction in this Point, may pleaſe to conſult the " Eighth of Dr. *Bentley*'s Excellent Sermons againſt " *Atheiſm*. p. 4, *&c.*

5. *Animals.* As for the Things here below upon the Earth, that is, Beaſts and all Living Creatures, Man looks upon them with Scorn and Contempt, as if they were of no Conſideration at all. Forgetting, that they are form'd by the Hands of the ſame Almighty Artificer, and are reckoned among the Riches and Poſſeſſions of the ſame Lord; That the ſame Earth is our Common Mother, and that They and He, are of the ſame Family; and conſequently ought not to be ſlighted and diſdained, as if they were worthy no part of his Concern, nor bore any Relation at all to Him. Hence it is, that theſe Poor Creatures are ſo much abuſed; and treated with an Inſolence and Cruelty, that flies back upon Their and Our Common Maſter; for it is an

an Affront, and an Impiety, to deal thus by any Thing of His making, such as he does not only own, but express a Tenderness for; thinks them worthy his own Care, and hath appointed certain Laws for their Benefit and Preservation; such as, tho' inferior to Us in the most valuable Parts, yet he seems in some Things to have given the Advantage to; nay, such as, in several Instances, shame and reproach our Follies, and are therefore recommended in Scripture, as Masters for Man to be sent to School to. But this hath been already mentioned in another Chapter.

It is indeed a Doctrine commonly receiv'd, that *the World was made for Man, and Man for God*; which in some Sense is certainly true, and what I have said is no Derogation from it. For, besides that Instruction, which all the Creatures in general contribute to, whether those above or below us; Those useful Hints and Reflections they minister concerning Almighty God, Our Selves, and Our Duty: Some sort of Use, with regard to Profit, or Serviceableness, or Delight, may be drawn from every one of them in particular. From that Part above us, which we have a less distinct Knowledge of, and which is not at all in our Disposal; This Firmament so nobly vaulted, so richly deck'd with Light, and all those rolling Fires above us; The Advantage Man receives from them, is that of *Contemplation* only. His Soul by these is raised and transported to admire and to love, to fear and to honour, and to pay most profound Reverence to the Almighty Master and Maker of so Glorious a Frame. In this respect it was no ill Remark of *Anaxagoras*, that *Man was created to contemplate Heaven*; and some of the Old Philosophers accordingly gave him the Title of οὐρανοσκόπος. From the Creatures in this lower World, he reaps Advantage and Assistance, receives great Supplies, and

Service properly ſo called. But for Men to perſuade themſelves, that God, in making all theſe Things, had no other End in his Thoughts and Deſigns, but purely to conſult the Convenience of Mankind: This is too great a Stretch upon the Doctrine mention'd juſt now, and an Arrogance which I think may very deſervedly be charged with all that Folly and Preſumption I have laid upon it.

6. Man himſelf. The laſt, but principal Inſtance of this Preſumption, hath *Man* for its Object; and this muſt be conſider'd with regard to *Himſelf*, or to his *Fellows*; *Within*, as to the forming of his Judgment and private Opinions; or *Without*, as thoſe Sentiments are imparted by converſing with other People. And, upon this Occaſion, we will inſiſt upon Three Things, as ſo many Topicks in cloſe Connexion and Conſequence upon one another; by which Mankind betray at once their great *Weakneſs* and great *Preſumption*; and, in both, great *Folly*.

Three Degrees of Humane Preſumption.

The firſt of theſe conſiſts in Believing and Diſbelieving. (I meddle not here with Religion, or Divine Faith, but deſire my Reader to recollect what was ſaid in the Preface,) Where Two contrary Vices are obſervable, which are exceeding common in Humane Life. One of theſe, and the more general of the two, is *Levity* and *Credulity*; that is, a Diſpoſition to receive Things, and be perſuaded too eaſily, upon the ſlighteſt Inducements; ſo that to gain our Aſſent, any the leaſt Circumſtance of Probability, or Pretence of Authority, is ſufficient. This is the Effect of Eaſineſs and Simplicity in the worſt Senſe of the Word; a Softneſs and Weakneſs of Mind, ſuch as we obſerve in mean Parts and Education, the Ignorant and Effeminate, the Superſtitious and Fanciful, Men of great Zeal, and little Judgment, which are all like Wax, always in a readineſs to receive any new Im-

1. Believing and Misbelieving.

Impreſſion, and ſuffer Themſelves to be led about by the Ears with every idle Story. Hence it is, that we ſee the greateſt Part of the World carry'd about with every Blaſt of Opinion, and poſſeſs'd with Notions, before either Age or Maturity of Judgment render them capable of chooſing; and accordingly Theſe Opinions are not the reſult of *Conſideration* and *Choice*, but the Prepoſſeſſions of *Time* and *Cuſtom*; the Rudiments of their Infancy, the Mode of their Country, or, it may be, mere Chance, have taken faſt hold of them; ſo faſt, that they are inſeparably wedded to, abſolutely ſubdu'd and enſlav'd by them; and no Arguments are able to looſen theſe Prejudices, and ſet their Minds at liberty from them. * *Some violent Guſh of Wind drives them upon an Opinion, and there they cling, as if they were to ſave themſelves from a Storm, by keeping cloſe to that Rock.* Thus, indeed, the World is manag'd; We take Things upon Truſt, and depend upon other People. † *Each Man* is willing to ſave himſelf the trouble of Examining; and *had rather believe than judge: A Miſtake that hath paſſed thro' many Hands ſucceſſively, turns and tumbles us about at Pleaſure: And all this from a Cuſtom of aſſenting too eaſily, which is exceeding dangerous and unfaithful.* Now this *Credulity*, ſo common in the World, tho' it be really a very great Inſtance of *Weakneſs*, yet is it not without a large Mixture of *Preſumption* too: For, to receive and ſtick by Opinions, and maintain them for certain Truths, without knowing any thing at all of the Matter, this is too much in all Conſcience; and therefore ſome little Enquiry is

* Veluti tempeſtate delati ad quamcunq; diſciplinam, tanquam ad ſaxum adhæreſcunt.

† Unuſquiſq; mavult credere quam judicare, verſat nos & præcipitat traditus per manus error; Ipſa conſuetudo aſſentiendi periculoſa & lubrica.

made into the Cauſes, and Reaſons, and Conſequences, tho' none at all is made concerning the Truth of the Thing. We commonly ask, What account can be given of This? or, What can be the manner of bringing that about? all along taking the Matter of Fact for granted, and that Things really are as they are repreſented; when there is nothing at all in it. We write Tracts, manage Arguments, engage in Diſputes, enquire curiouſly after Cauſes and Effects of a Thouſand Things, which never had any Foundation in Nature; and the whole Argument on both ſides is falſe. One contends it is This way, another That way, and, in truth, it neither is, nor ever was, Any way at all. How many Jeſts and Banters, pretended Miracles, ſham Viſions, and counterfeit Revelations, have crafty People impoſed upon Ours, and ſome late Ages of the World? And why ſhould a Man believe ſuch Pretenſions to Events, neither Humane nor Natural, when they may be confounded and diſproved by Natural and Humane Methods; when Reaſon can ſay nothing for them, and Revelation is ſo far from giving them Countenance, that it ſays a great deal againſt them? Truth and Falſhood have Faces and Features alike; Their Mien, their Reliſh, their Motions reſemble one another, and the ſame Eye judgeth of them both. * *Truth and Falſhood* (ſays one) *border ſo cloſe upon one another, that a Wiſe Man ſhould not truſt himſelf upon the Brink of them, but move warily, for fear of ſliding into the Wrong.* No Man ought to be believed concerning Matters above the Power and Underſtanding of a Man; except he come with Authority from above, and bring ſuch Credentials along with him, as are ſupernatural, and exceed the Operations of Humane Strength; and ſuch no Te-

* Ita ſunt finitima falſa veris, ut in præcipitem locum non debeat ſe ſapiens committere.

ſtimony

ſtimony can be, but the Divine. But it is to God alone that this Prerogative of Right belongs, To be believed in whatever he ſays, for this ſingle Reaſon, *becauſe He ſays it.*

The other Vice oppoſite to This, is a ſtupid and obſtinate *Raſhneſs*, which condemns at all Adventures, and rejects every Thing for falſe, which Men either do not underſtand, or are loath to believe; and therefore will by no means have that true, which Intereſt or Inclination makes them wiſh may not be ſo. This is a Property more eſpecially viſible in ſuch as abound in their own Senſe, and think Themſelves more capable and more judicious than their Neighbours; ſuch as Pedantick Pretenders to Learning, Men addicted to Diſpute, and Thoſe that are violent in any Party, whether of Church or State. They fancy ſome little Sharpneſs in their Wit, and that They ſee further into Things than the Generality of People do; and This, with a Byaſs of their own within, makes them forward and fierce; They take upon them to determine every Thing with an Air of Authority, and expect, that their Sentence ſhould be receiv'd for Law. This Vice is yet worſe and greater than the former; for it is the Extremity of Folly and Madneſs, to think we know the utmoſt Bounds of Poſſibilities; the ſecret Springs, and full Extent of Nature; that We can comprehend the Operations of God, and pronounce what He is able, and what He will pleaſe to do; to meaſure all Truth and Falſhood by our own Capacities and Underſtandings; and yet This ought to be the Meaſure of True and Falſe, to juſtify the Confidence and the Fierceneſs, which theſe ſort of Men expreſs in all their Diſputes and Definitions of Things: For this is the Eternal Jargon they run you down with, *That's Nonſenſe, That's Falſe, That's Impoſſible and Abſurd.* And yet how many Things are there, which for a time have been

thought extremely ridiculous, and rejected as impoſſible, and afterwards have brought ſuch Evidence of their Truth, that we have been forc'd to acknowledge and yield to them; nay, and after Theſe have been eſtabliſh'd, we have, by Them, been led to the entertaining of Others yet more ſurprizing and odd than the former? And, on the other hand, how many that have been receiv'd for Goſpel, have in time loſt all their Veneration and Credit, and been diſcover'd to be mere Errors, and Impoſtures, and idle Fancies?

8. *2. Affirming and Condemning.*

The Second Inſtance of this kind, which, indeed, is an uſual and a natural Conſequence of the former, is the being *poſitive* and *ſtiff* in aſſerting or denying, approving or condemning, according as we have been led to entertain or reject Opinions, without ſufficient Grounds for our Belief or Miſtruſt. This differs from the former only in degree, excepting that it adds Peremptorineſs and Obſtinacy to it, and ſo the Preſumption is worſe and more apparent. That *Eaſineſs* and *Credulity* hardens in time, and by degrees degenerates into a *Self-Conceit* and *Poſitiveneſs*, which no Arguments can conquer, no Perſuaſions move or correct. Nay, ſometimes the Humour is carry'd on ſo far, that Men are more eager in aſſerting what they do not know, than what they do. * *Men perſuade themſelves more firmly of the Things they leaſt underſtand, and aſſent with greater readineſs to Points dark and myſterious, that they may be thought to comprehend what really they do not, and from a natural eagerneſs of the Mind, that catches at every Thing greedily.* It is counted a Reflection, to be out at any Point that is ſtarted; or to yield a Diſpute, in which a Man is once engag'd; and therefore Men diſcourſe with Reſolution and Obſtinacy, and great

* Majorem fidem homines adhibent iis quæ non intelligunt; cupiditate humani ingenii lubentius obſcura creduntur.

Aſſu-

Aſſurance, and come ready fix'd and determin'd to maintain their Ground at any rate, how little ſoever they have to offer in Defence of it. Now this exceeding Poſitiveneſs, and abounding in one's own Senſe, are commonly Signs of Brutality and Ignorance, attended with Arrogance and Folly.

The Third, which is a natural Product of thoſe Two, and the very Top and Extremity of *Preſumption*, is, The *perſuading* others, recommending and propagating our own Opinion; and this, not in a mild and gentle Method of fair Reaſoning; but with Authority, and in a Dogmatical way; to impoſe it, as if they were oblig'd in Duty to believe us, and ought not to ask Queſtions, or doubt of any Thing we ſay. Now what inſupportable Tyranny and Uſurpation is This? He that hath receiv'd an Opinion, reckons it a Work of Charity to win others over, and convince as many as he can of it too; and for the better effecting this Charitable Deſign, he gives it all the Strength and Advantage he can; repreſents every thing in its beſt Light, and adds from his own Invention, as much more, as he thinks may be for his Purpoſe, to make amends for any Defect or Oppoſition, which he ſuſpects may be met with, from the Apprehenſion of the Perſon he propoſes the Matter to. And, generally ſpeaking, there is not any thing for which Men are more tenderly concern'd, than for the putting about their Opinions, and gaining as many Proſelytes as they can. * *No Man is content to be miſtaken alone, but every one draws in others into the ſame Error with himſelf.* Nay, ſo zealous are Men in this Particular, that where ordinary Means of Perſuaſion are found inſufficient, the Defect is ſupply'd by *Violence* and *Terror*, *Sword*, and *Fire*, and *Faggot*.

9. 3 *Perſuading.*

* Nemo ſibi tantum errat, ſed aliis erroris Cauſa & Author eſt.

This is properly the Vice of Dogmatical and Ambitious People; ſuch as aim at abſolute Dominion, and would fain be governing and preſcribing to all the World. And, for the facilitating this Deſign, and to captivate Men's Underſtandings, they make uſe of Two Artifices. The Firſt is, To lay down ſome general Propoſitions, which are term'd *Fundamental Principles*; and ſuch as muſt be preſuppoſed and granted on all Hands; and from Theſe, they tell you, you muſt be ſo far from departing, that you are not allow'd ſo much as to diſpute, or admit the leaſt Doubt, whether they be true or not. Upon theſe they raiſe what Superſtructure they pleaſe, and ſo bring the World over to their ſide; which hath been a very ſucceſsful Cheat, in propagating many groſs Errors, and giving Authority to Things abſolutely falſe. And, indeed, the Fraud lies chiefly in Thoſe Principles, which ought to be *Truth's Self-evident*, and clear to every conſidering Man; but Some have been advanced for ſuch, which upon ſtrict Examination will be found, not only as diſputable, but as weak, as falſe, as any of the Concluſions endeavour'd to be drawn from them; and the Propoſitions contrary to Theſe, carry at leaſt the ſame Face of Probability, and have as much to ſay for themſelves.

Copernicus, Paracelſus.

Some Eminent Perſons, we know, of late, have taken upon them quite to alter and overthrow the eſtabliſh'd, and ſo long unconteſted, Principles and Rules of the Antients, in *Aſtrology*, *Phyſick*, *Geometry*, and concerning the Nature and Motion of the *Winds*. Now all the Propoſitions and Notions of Men are equal to be ſure, and ought to have the ſame Authority with us, excepting only ſo far as Reaſon gives one the Advantage above another. *Truth* does not depend upon the *Credit* or *Teſtimony of Man*; nor are there any Propoſitions that command an abſolute Aſſent, and whoſe Authority is uncon-

unconteſtable, but what God hath been pleaſed to reveal; the reſt are mere Vanity and Pretence, that challenge Aſſent ſo imperiouſly from us. Now theſe Gentlemen require us to take their Word, and ſwallow All they ſet before us, without chewing; not any Tryal or Examination is allow'd you, which is the greateſt Injuſtice and Tyranny in the World. God (as was obſerved before) hath this Right incommunicable to any beſide Himſelf, to command our Aſſent in all he ſays, upon this ſcore merely, *becauſe he ſays it.* Where, by God's ſaying it, is included the Meſſage of all thoſe that are ſent, and atteſted by him, and not any immediate Revelation intended, and nothing elſe; for in oppoſition to ſuch Meſſengers, ſo commiſſioned and approv'd it is, that our Lord ſays, *He that ſpeaketh of himſelf is a Lyar.*

The Other Method, by which many have been drawn into Errors, is by counterfeiting this Seal from Heaven, pretending ſome new Miracle, or particular Inſpiration, or ſtrange Apparition, or the like; a Trick, which Hiſtory tells us, hath been often play'd with great Dexterity and Succeſs, by Princes, and Law-givers, and Generals of Armies. The firſt Perſuaſion taken from the Party concern'd, ſoon gets poſſeſſion of the weaker ſort; but this is ſo nice, ſo feeble, and ſo frail, that the leaſt Miſtake, or Miſmanagement would ſpoil and break all to pieces again: And wonderful it is to reflect, what famous Impreſſions have been owing to poor and frivolous Beginnings. But when this Impreſſion comes abroad into the World, it grows to a prodigious Bulk, and ſtretches it ſelf ſo, by the help of Time and Numbers, as to take in Men of better Senſe, and more diſcerning Judgments. For it is to no purpoſe then to kick againſt a general Belief; a Man hath nothing left to do, but to come in, and make One. The ſtrongeſt Evidence, and moſt

The Fifth and Laſt Reſpect under which Man *was to be conſidered; conſiſting of the Differences between Some and Others; and of the Compariſons ariſing from hence.*

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Difference and Inequality of Men in general.

THere is not any One Thing in all this lower World, wherein ſo great Variety is obſervable, as in Mankind; not any general Head or Species of Beings, whoſe Individuals differ in ſo many, and ſo diſtant Particulars from one another. If *Pliny*, and *Herodotus*, and *Plutarch* may be credited; There are Men in ſome Places, whoſe Form and Figure bears but very little Reſemblance to this of Ours; and ſeveral Mongrels and Medleys between the Man and the Beaſt. Some Countries are inhabited by Men without any Head, whoſe Eyes and Mouth are placed in their Breaſts; ſome by Hermaphrodites; ſome, where they go upon all Four; ſome, where they have but One Eye, and That in the middle of their Forehead; and a Head ſhaped more

more like a Dog, than ſuch as we ſee Men uſually have. Some Places, where the lower Part is all Fiſh, and they live in the Water; where their Women bring Children at Five Years old, and live no longer than Eight; where their Skull and Forehead is ſo hard, that no Iron can break or enter it, but rebounds back again; where they are transformed into Wolves, and Sheep, and Oxen, and at laſt return to the Humane Form again; where they have no Mouth, and all the Nouriſhment they are ſuſtained by, is from the Smell of certain Scents. And, to go no farther, This very laſt Age hath diſcovered, and many now living have ſeen and felt Men, that have no Beards at all; that live without the uſe of Fire, or Corn, or Wine; and Countries, where what We abominate as the moſt odious Deformity, is look'd upon and valu'd as the moſt exquiſite Beauty; (as hath been hinted before.) As for the Diverſity of Cuſtoms and Manners, That will be the Buſineſs of another Head. What hath been related here may poſſibly ſeem incredible; but if it do, our Point will be prov'd without it. For go no farther than our own Knowledge, and what infinite Differences are there in *Faces*? inſomuch that Two are no where to be found, exactly and in all Particulars alike. 'Tis true, ſometimes there happen Miſtakes of one Perſon for another, becauſe of a very great Likeneſs between them; but then Theſe always happen, when One of the Parties is not by. For when we meet them Both together, the Error vaniſhes; and we eaſily diſcern a Difference, which ſerves for a ſufficient Mark of Diſtinction to us, tho' perhaps it is ſuch a one, as we cannot readily tell what to call it.

The *Souls* of Men are yet more various, and full of diſtinguiſhing Characters, than their *Bodies*; For there is in this reſpect, not only a greater Difference

ference between Man and Man, than any that can be diſcover'd between Beaſt and Beaſt: But (which is but a bad Buſineſs, and not much for our Honour) the diſtance is more between ſome Men and Others, than it ſeems to be between ſome Men and Beaſts. For one of the moſt excellent and apprehenſive Animals, ſeems to make much nearer approaches to the Underſtanding and Sagacity of Men of the loweſt Form, than Thoſe Men to ſome of the moſt capable and accompliſh'd Perſons. Now this mighty Difference between Men proceeds from inward and unſeen Cauſes; from the Mind, which conſiſts of ſuch variety of Parts; and it is brought about by ſuch intricate Springs and Principles of Motion, that the Contemplation of them would be infinite, and the Degrees depending upon them without number.

Now the laſt Part of our Undertaking for attaining to a right Knowledge of Man, muſt conſiſt of the Diſtinctions and Differences obſervable in Him: And Theſe are of ſeveral ſorts, according to the different Parts of which Humane Nature is compounded, and the different Methods and Capacities in which Men may be conſider'd, and compar'd with one another. At preſent we will inſtance in Five, which ſeem to be the Principal; and of ſo large Extent, that all the reſt may be reduc'd to them. For, generally ſpeaking, all that is in Man is either Body or Spirit, Natural or Acquired, Publick or Private, Apparent or Secret; and accordingly this Fifth and Laſt Conſideration ſhall branch it ſelf into Five Particulars, which ſhall be ſo many Capital Diſtinctions between Man and Man.

The Firſt of theſe is *Natural*, *Eſſential*, and *Univerſal*; in which the whole Man, both Body and Mind, are concern'd.

The Second is principally *Natural* and *Eſſential*; but in ſome meaſure *Artificial* and acquir'd too;

too; and this concerns the Strength and Capacity of the Mind.

The Third is *Accidental*, and depends upon Men's Conditions and their Duties reſpectively; the Ground of all which is taken from the Circumſtance of Superiour or Inferiour.

The Fourth is likewiſe *Accidental*, and relates to Men's particular Profeſſions, and different ways of Living.

The Fifth and Laſt conſiders them with regard to the *Advantages* and *Diſadvantages*, by which either Nature or Fortune hath diſtinguiſhed them.

CHAP. XLII.

The Firſt Difference whereby Men are diſtinguiſh'd, which is Natural, and Eſſential, and derived from the ſeveral Climates of the World.

THE Firſt, moſt remarkable, and univerſal Diſtinction between ſome Men and Others, is That which regards the whole Perſon, the Mind and Body both, and all the Parts whereof Man conſiſts. And This is deriv'd from the different Situation of Countries, and Diviſions of the World; In proportion to which there neceſſarily follows a Difference in the Aſpects and Influences of the Heavens, the Diſtance of the Sun, the Temperament of the Air, and the Nature of the Soil: And from hence Men receive different Complexions, and Statures, and Countenances; nay, different Manners and Diſpoſitions; and different Faculties

culties of the Soul too. * *The Climate does not only contribute very much to the Strength of the Body, but alſo to the Vigour of the Mind. At* Athens *the Air is thin and fine, from whence the* Athenians *are generally ſharp, and of quick Parts: At* Thebes *it is thick and foggy, and this makes the Inhabitants and Natives of that Country, ſtupid and dull, groſs and robuſt.* This Conſideration mov'd *Plato* to thank God, that he was a Native of *Athens* and not of *Thebes.*

† *Prolifick Rays ſhed by the Partial Sun,*
Are not confin'd to Seeds and Plants alone;
Souls too the differing Genial Influence know,
And reliſh of the Soil in which they grow.

As the Nature of the Fruits, and of other Animals is very different, according to the Regions where they ſpring, and are bred; ſo Men likewiſe owe their Temper to their Country; and upon this account bring into the World with them Diſpoſitions Greater or Leſs, to War, Courage, Juſtice, Temperance, Docility, Religion, Chaſtity, Wit, Goodneſs, Obedience, Beauty, Health, and Strength. Upon this account *Cyrus* would not permit the *Perſians* to quit their own Country, which was rough and rocky, for another that was champaign and ſmooth; and the Reaſon he gave was, That ſoft and pleaſant Soils produce Effeminate People; and Fruitfulneſs in the Ground cauſes Barrenneſs in the Minds of the Inhabitants.

According to this Ground-work we may erect general Schemes of the World, by parcelling out

* Plaga Cœli non ſolum ad robur Corporum, ſed & animorum facit. Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo etiam acutiores Attici: craſſum Thebis, ideo pingues Thebani & valentes.

† Tales ſunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipſe
Jupiter auctiferâ luſtravit lampade terras.

the

the Countries of it into Three large Diviſions, and the Natives into as many Diſpoſitions. The Three general Diviſions to be made on this Occaſion, ſhall comprehend the Two Extremities of North and South, and the Middle Region between them both. Each Part or Diviſion ſhall conſiſt of Sixty Degrees. The Firſt ſhall be plac'd under the Line, and take in Thirty Degrees on each ſide of it; that is, All that Part of the Globe contain'd within the Two Tropicks, and ſome ſmall Matter more. In which Part lie thoſe that are commonly call'd the Hot and Southern Countries, and that which Aſtronomers and Geographers diſtinguiſh by the Title of the *Torrid Zone*; *Africa* and *Æthiopia* in the middle between Eaſt and Weſt; *Arabia*, *Calicut*, the *Moluques*, and *Java* Eaſtward; *Peru* and the great Seas Weſtward. The Second or Middle Diviſion goes Thirty Degrees beyond the former on each ſide, reckoning from the Tropicks towards the Poles; and theſe are the Moderate Climates, or *Temperate Zones*. This includes all *Europe* and the Mediterranean Sea, between Eaſt and Weſt; the greater and leſſer *Aſia* Eaſtward; and *China*, *Japan*, and *America* to the Weſtward. The Third extends it ſelf Thirty Degrees farther yet, which lie neareſt to each Pole; Theſe are the *Frigid Zones*, the Frozen Regions, and they that are call'd the Northern Nations, as *Tartary*, *Muſcovy*, *Eſtotilan*, *Magellan*, and all that Tract which, becauſe not hitherto fully diſcover'd, goes by the Name of *Terra Incognita*.

According to this general Partition of the World, the Qualities and Diſpoſitions of the People are proportionably different: And that, whether we regard the Body, the Mind, Religion, or Manners; as this little Table here ſubjoyn'd will more diſtinctly repreſent the Matter.

For	*Northerly* People	The Temperate and Middle Regions	*Southern* People
I. As to their Bodies.	The *Northerly* People are Tall and Big, Phlegmatick, Sanguine, White or light Tawny, their Voices ſtrong, their Skin ſoft and Hairy, great Eaters and Drinkers, ſtrong and robuſt.	are in a Mean, and of a Nature between theſe two Extremes, Moderate and in a State of Neutrality, (as it were) in all theſe reſpects.	*Southern* People are Low of Stature, Small built, inclining to Melancholy, of cold and dry Conſtitutions, Black and Tawny, diſpoſed to Solitude, their Voices ſmall and weak, their Skin hard, little Hair, frizled and ſhaggy, abſtemious and weak.
II. Their Minds.	Heavy, Dull, Stupid, Fooliſh, credulous, eaſy to be impoſed upon, inconſtant in their Humors and Opinions.	Partaking in ſome meaſure of both Qualities, but moſt inclining to the Diſpoſitions of that Diviſion upon which they border neareſt.	Ingenious, Apt, Wiſe, Prudent, Subtle, Poſitive in their Opinions, Obſtinate, Unperſuadable.
III. Their Religion.	Not much addicted to Religion, cold and negligent in Devotion.		Given to Superſtition, Studious, and Contemplative.
IV. Their Manners.	Warlike, Valiant, Hardy, Laborious, Chaſte, not apt to be Jealous, Cruel, Inhumane.		Averſe to War, Cowardly, Laſcivious, Jealous, Cruel and Inhumane.

It is no difficult Matter to evince the Truth of theſe Characters, and aſſign very probable Reaſons, why the Perſons here mentioned ſhould thus differ from each other. As to thoſe Differences, which relate to the Body; we have Evidence of Senſe for them, and our Eyes ſupply the Place of a Thouſand Arguments. If there be ſome excepted Caſes from the general Rules, they may very eaſily be accounted for, (tho' indeed theſe Exceptions are but very few) The mingling and promiſcuous Marriages of ſeveral Nations; the Winds, the Waters, and particular Situation of the Places where they dwell, may each of them contribute to it, and all together may make a conſiderable Alteration. Thus a very high and mountainous Country may vary remarkably from a flat under the ſame Latitude; nay, this different Site may cauſe ſome Variation in the very ſame Country or City. *Plutarch* obſerves, that the Humours of Thoſe who were born and dwelt in the upper Town at *Athens*, were very diſtant from Thoſe of the lower Town, and by the Sea-ſide about the *Piræan* Port. A high Mountain on the North-ſide of a Valley, will render the Plain to the Southward of it, to all Intents and Purpoſes, a Southern Climate; and by the ſame Reaſon, a Mountain to the Southward, which intercepts the Sun, will give the Valley beyond it the Effects of a Northern Climate. 1. *Theſe Differences proved.*

As for thoſe Differences, which relate to the Mind; We know very well, that Mechanical Improvements, and moſt Laborious and Handicraft Arts come out of the North, where the People are remarkable for indefatigable Induſtry and Toil. But Learning and Speculative Sciences move with the Sun, and come from the South to Us. *Cæſar*, and the Ancients, give the *Ægyptians* the Character of a moſt Ingenious, and exceeding Subtle People; and the Scripture takes Notice, as one Commenda- 2. *Their Mind*

tion and great Accompliſhment of *Moſes*, that he had been inſtructed, and was *well skilled in all the Wiſdom of the Ægyptians.* From thence firſt Philoſophy ſet forward into *Europe*; for the *Greeks* were beholding to *Ægypt* for the Fundamentals and Elements of Wiſdom. Greatneſs and State ſeems to have begun there, by reaſon of the Vigour and Subtilty of their Parts. The Guards of Princes, even of Them, whoſe Dwellings and Dominions are in the South, are uſually compoſed of Northerly Men; as being look'd upon to have more Strength of Body, and leſs of Mind; fit for Fight and Defence, but not qualify'd for ſubtle Plots and ſecret Deſigns, nor diſpoſed to Treachery and Malice. What was ſaid of *Hannibal*, is true of theſe Southern Nations, They are of a Diſpoſition that will ſerve for Great Vices, and Great Virtues, and may be eminent in either: That which is chiefly commendable in the Northern, is Good-Nature, and Plainneſs, and undeſigning Honeſty. The intermediate Sciences, ſuch as are mix'd, partly Speculative, and partly Practical; Politicks (for Inſtance) and Laws, and Eloquence, and the like, are owing to the Middle Regions between thoſe Extremes, and moſt conſpicuous and improved there. For it is obſervable, that the Greateſt and moſt Flouriſhing Empires and States, have been ſeated in this Part of the World.

Acts vii. 26.

3. *Religion.*

As to our Third Particular: Moſt Part of the *Religions* practiſed in the World, came from the South; and what Mankind generally obſerve at this Day, is either what begun there, or Additions and Improvements upon it. *Ægypt*, and *Arabia*, and *Chaldæa*, have been their Teachers and Patterns; and *Africa* is obſerv'd to have more Superſtition in it, than all the World beſides. Witneſs, the Frequency of their Vows, and the incredible Magnificence of their Temples. As for the Northern Nations, *Cæſar*

far takes Notice, That they have but very little Regard to *Religion*, but employ and delight themſelves chiefly in *War* and *Hunting*.

For the *Manners* and *Diſpoſitions* of Men in gene- 4
ral; look upon the Firſt in regard to War, and it is moſt evident, that Numerous Armies, Military Arts and Diſcipline, Engines, and Inſtruments, and Inventions of this kind, are originally deriv'd from the North. The Nations which ſet out from thence, *Scythians*, and *Goths*, and *Vandals*, and *Hunns*, and *Tartars*, and *Turks*, and *Germans*; Theſe have fought, and ſubdu'd all other Nations, and ravag'd the whole World. The Devaſtations they made, and the Barbarities they exerciſed, gave Occaſion to that Proverb, That *all Evil came out of the North.* Duels, and Set Combats, are deriv'd from Them. *Solinus* ſays, the Northern Nations worſhip the Blade of a Sword, ſtuck down into the Earth. Other People have not been able to conquer them; Not even the *Romans*, who vanquiſhed the reſt of the World, but were Themſelves overcome and deſtroy'd by Them. It is remarkable, that the South Wind makes them weak and faint, and that in Proportion as they advance nearer the South, they degenerate and grow feeble; and ſo juſt contrary, The Southern Nations, when they move Northward, improve their Conſtitutions, and feel Themſelves grow much more hardy and ſtrong. Upon the Account of this Courage and Warlike Spirit it is, that the Northern People cannot endure to be inſulted and tyranniz'd over; They are Enemies to Arbitrary Power, and Abſolute Dominion; are great Lovers of Liberty; and ſubmit moſt willingly where the Governments are Elective. As for Chaſtity and Jealouſy; In the North One Man hath but One Wife, (as *Tacitus* obſerves) and he thinks One Wife ſufficient too; They are by no means inclin'd to Jealouſy, (ſays *Munſter*)

as one may gueſs by Men and their Wives bathing together in a Company of Strangers. Polygamy is practiſed all over the whole Southern Tract. All *Africa*, (ſays *Solinus*) is devoted to the Worſhip of *Venus*. Southern Men have a ſtrange Propenſion to Jealouſy, and even die with the Rage of it; and therefore they get Eunuchs for their Security, and ſet Them as a Guard upon their Women. Thus the *Grand Seignior* does in his Seraglio, where he keeps vaſt Numbers of Ladies, (like a Stable of Mares) to breed upon.

In *Cruelty* both Extremes reſemble one another; but tho' the *Effect* be the ſame, the *Cauſe* is not ſo; as will be explain'd preſently, when we come to conſider the Cauſes of theſe Differences. The moſt barbarous Methods of Puniſhment, ſuch as Breaking upon the Wheel, and Impaling Men alive, came from the North. The Mercileſs Cruelties of the *Muſcovites* and *Tartars*, are abundantly notorious; The *Germans* (*Tacitus* tells us) never puniſh Malefactors by Legal Proceſs, but fall upon them, and cut them to Pieces like Enemies. The Southern Nations too flay their Criminals alive; and their Deſire of Revenge is ſo eager and impatient, that ſometimes they run ſtark-mad, if they cannot find Means to ſatisfy it. Between theſe moſt diſtant Regions, the Nations are full of Kindneſs, and Good-Nature. The *Romans* uſually inflicted no greater Puniſhment, than that of Baniſhing their moſt grievous Offenders. The *Greeks* mingled a ſtupifying Draught of Hemlock, and other Poyſonous Drugs, yet ſo that it ſhould be ſweet upon the Palate; and This they gave their condemn'd Perſons to drink and die with. And *Cicero* ſays, That Humanity and Courteſy ſeem to be the Portion and peculiar Qualities of the *Leſſer Aſia*, and to have been from thence diffuſed over the reſt of the World.

Now

Now, the True Cauſe, from whence all theſe Differences, both in the Perſons and the Diſpoſitions of Men, proceed; is no other than the inward natural Heat, being diſtributed among the People of theſe ſeveral Climates, ſo very unequally as it is: For each Country differs from the other, according as theſe Proportions differ. The Northern Nations have it in a very great degree, by reaſon of the great Coldneſs of their Air, which keeps this Heat, and ſhuts it up cloſe; as we find Cellars in Rocks and deep Wells hotteſt in Winter; and, to go no farther from Home, ſo are our own Breaſt and Stomach, becauſe of the Strength and Abundance of inward Heat at that Time. Now, This muſt needs be much weaker in Southern People, becauſe the exceeding Vehemence of the Scorching Heat without, and the Force of the Sun-beam ſcatters, and draws it outwards. As our Stomachs and Places under Ground are cooleſt in Summer, and we feel our inward Burnings abated by Sweating. From this Difference, I ſay, and unequal Degrees of Natural Heat, ariſe the ſeveral Differences already mentioned; not ſuch only as the Body is concern'd in, for Theſe are viſible and obvious; but Thoſe that make a Change in the Minds of Men too: For the Southerly People being colder in their Conſtitutions, are from hence diſpoſed to Melancholy; and this makes them Staid and Solid, Conſtant, Contemplative, Ingenious, Wiſe, Religious, and Devout. For Wiſdom and Docility is moſt eminently viſible in Beaſts of a cold Temperament; as Elephants particularly, which are more Melancholick than any other Animals, and are manifeſtly the moſt Apprehenſive and apt of any, all which I impute to the Coldneſs of their Blood. From the ſame Superfluity and Predominance of Melancholy in their Temper, the Southern People ſeem to be more

5. *The Cauſe of theſe Differences.*

Laſcivious and Luſtful than others, this being a ſharp and fretting Humour, and apt to provoke ſuch Inclinations; as we ſee it in Hares particularly. From the ſame ſharp fretting Melancholy, they are Barbarous and Cruel; for That whets the Paſſions, and urges them to Blood and Revenge. Now the Northern People, in whoſe Conſtitution Phlegm is moſt predominant, and who abound in Blood and Spirits; are juſt oppoſite to the Former, and have the direct contrary Qualities, excepting that they agree in that ſingle Point of Cruelty. But This in theſe Parts of the World proceeds chiefly from a very different Reaſon; and that ſeems to be Want of Judgmeut; ſo that, like Beaſts, They are ſtrong in their Paſſions, and weak in thoſe Faculties, that ſhould controul, and keep them in. The Countries of the Middle Diviſion, abound in Blood and Choler, and ſo are delivered from the Ill Effects of both Extremes, Phlegm and Melancholy; and accordingly theſe are Moderate in their Paſſions, Good-humour'd, Cheerful, Nimble, and Apt, and Active.

It were poſſible to repreſent the different Temper and Spirit of theſe Three Sorts of People, after a yet more nice and perfect manner, by making the Application and Compariſon to extend to all kind of Things whatſoever; A ſhort Scheme whereof this little Table will preſent you with; and by That you will perceive, what are the particular Qualities, Influences, Improvements, and Actions of each of them. For, according to what hath been already obſerv'd upon this Head, we muſt aſſign to the

Qualities

	Northern.	*Middle Climate.*	*Southern.*
Qualities of the Soul.	Common Senſe.	Diſcourſe and Ratiocination.	Intellect.
	Force and Courage, like that of Bears and Beaſts.	The Reaſon and Juſtice of Men.	The Subtilty of Foxes, and Religion of Divines.
Planets.	*Mars.* War. *Luna.* Hunting.	*Jupiter.* Emperours. *Mercury.* Orators.	*Satur.* Contemplation. *Venus.* Love.
	Arts and Manufactures.	Prudence, and Knowledge of Good and Evil.	Speculative Wiſdom, and Knowledge of True and Falſe.
Parts and Offices in the Commonwealth	Labourers and Artiſans, and Soldiers.	Magiſtrates, diſcreet and provident Perſons.	Prelates, Divines and Philoſophers.
Qualities of different Ages.	Young Men, Aukward and Unapt.	Grown Men, good Managers, and Men of Buſineſs.	Old Men, Grave, Wiſe and Thoughtful.

Theſe

Theſe are the peculiar Excellencies, and moſt remarkable Diſtinctions, which may be attributed to this general Diviſion of North and South. The Nations that lie Weſtward, and the People that dwell upon the Mountains, approach, and have a great Affinity to the Northern Climates; becauſe of the Cold, to which thoſe Situations are more expos'd; which is alſo the Caſe of Them who live at a great diſtance from the Sea. They are Warlike and Fierce, Lovers of Liberty, and have more Honeſty and Simplicity in their Tempers. And ſo again, the Eaſtern Countries reſemble the Southern, as do alſo Thoſe that dwell in the Champaign and great Valleys, and the Borderers upon the Sea. They are more Tender and Effeminate, by reaſon of the Fruitfulneſs of their Soil; for Fertility inclines Men to Softneſs and Pleaſure. And your Iſlanders are commonly Subtle, and Cunning, and Deceitful, by reaſon of that Commerce and Correſpondence they hold with Men and Nations of different Tempers abroad.

From this whole Diſcourſe we may conclude in general; that the Privilege of the Northern Climates lies chiefly in the Qualifications of the Body; Strength, and a Robuſt Conſtitution is their peculiar Excellence and Portion. The Southern have the Advantage in the Mind; Subtilty, and Penetration, and Quickneſs of Parts, is Their Talent. The Middle Regions have ſomewhat of Both, and partake of all Theſe Excellencies; but of Each in leſs Degrees and moderate Proportions. From hence likewiſe we may underſtand, that the Manners and Original Diſpoſitions of Men, ſimply conſider'd, are not Vices or Virtues in their own Nature, but Neceſſary and Natural Effects. And the abſolute renouncing or deveſting our ſelves of Theſe; nay, the perfect Reformation of them, is ſomething more than difficult; it is in ſome Caſes

our

out of our Power. But the ſweetning, and moderating, and reducing theſe Natural Extremes to Temper, and a due Medium; the watching over them carefully, and reſtraining their Motions, This is properly our Duty, and the Buſineſs of Wiſdom and Virtue.

CHAP. XLIII.

The Second Diſtinction, and nicer Difference, which regards the Souls of Men, or the Internal Qualifications and Capacities of their Minds.

THis Second Diſtinction, which concerns the Minds of Men, and their inward Accompliſhments, is by no means ſo manifeſt as the former: It is not obvious to Senſe at all, nor does it fall within the compaſs of every one's Notice and Obſervation. The Cauſes of it are likewiſe compounded; for it depends partly upon Nature, and partly upon Induſtry and Art; and ſo extends to our acquir'd Excellencies, as well as to Thoſe that are born and bred with us. According to this Diſtinction, there are (as was obſerv'd before) Three ſorts of Men, which divide them into Three Claſſes or Degrees of Souls. 1. *Three Sorts and Degrees of Men in the World.*

In the Firſt and loweſt of theſe Ranks we may place thoſe weak and mean Souls, which are almoſt of a Level with Body and Matter; of ſlender and narrow Capacities; almoſt perfectly paſſive, and ſuch as Nature ſeems to have made on purpoſe to Endure and Obey; to live under Subjection and Management, and tamely to follow their

their Leaders; In a Word, ſuch as are *but juſt Men*, and *no more*.

In the Second and middle Row, are Thoſe of a tolerable Judgment and Underſtanding, and ſuch as make ſome Pretenſions to Wit and Learning, Management and Addreſs: Theſe Men know Something, but they are not ſufficiently acquainted with Themſelves; They are content to take up with Opinions commonly receiv'd, and ſtick faſt to their firſt Impreſſions, without troubling Themſelves, or indeed being judicious enough, to enquire into the Truth, and Bottom of Things; nay, were they capable of finding their deep and moſt abſtruſe Cauſes, they think this an unlawful Curioſity, and ſo make the Submiſſion of their Judgments a Principle of Duty and Conſcience. They look no farther than that little Spot of Ground where they ſtand Themſelves, and take it for granted, that Matters are, or ought to be, all the World over, exactly the ſame with what they ſee them at home; and all that differ from them in *Cuſtoms* or *Opinion*, they look upon with *Pity* or *Diſdain*; and allow no better Names to, than *Ignorant* and *Unciviliz'd*, *Wild* and *Barbarous*. They live in perfect Slavery to local Laws, and the Vogue of that Village or City where they have dwelt ever ſince they were hatch'd; and this they do, not only in a quiet Compliance, and orderly Obedience to them, (which it is the Duty of every Man, even the ableſt and moſt judicious, to do) but they conform their Senſe, and their Soul to them; and are verily perſuaded, that what is believ'd and practis'd in their own Town, is the *infallible Standard of Truth*; the Only, or the Beſt Rule of Virtue; and that all Men's Notions of *Right* and *Wrong*, ought to be meaſur'd by Theirs. Theſe ſorts of Men belong to the School and Diſtrict of *Ariſtotle*; They are Poſitive and Peremptory, abounding

abounding in their own Senſe, and impatient of Contradiction: They look more at Convenience than Truth; and conſider what will make moſt for the Benefit of the World, and turn to beſt Account, rather than make it their Buſineſs to find Things as they really are, and recommend what is Beſt in it ſelf. This Claſs conſiſts of infinite Subdiviſions, great Variety of Attainments and Degrees; the uppermoſt and moſt capable among them are ſuch as ſit at Helm, and govern the World; thoſe that hold Empires and Kingdoms in their Hand, and either give Commands, or counſel thoſe that do.

In the Third and Higeſt Order, are the Men bleſt with a lively, clear, and penetrating Wit; a ſound, ſolid, and ſtable Judgment; that do not content Themſelves with bare Hearſay, nor ſet up their Reſt in general and receiv'd Opinions; that ſuffer not their Minds to be prepoſſeſt and won over by the publick Vogue, nor are at all kept in Awe, or afraid to oppoſe and diſſent from the common Cry, as being very well ſatisfy'd, how many Cheats there are abroad in the World; and that ſome Things, no better than Falſhood and Jeſt, at the bottom, have been entertain'd, approv'd, extoll'd, nay even reverenc'd and ador'd. For ſuch were the greateſt part of the old Philoſophy and Phyſick, ſuch the Divinations, and Oracles, and all the Idolatry and Trumpery of the Pagan Worſhip; which prevail'd, even in the moſt refin'd Countries, for many Generations together, and kept Mankind in ſlavery to moſt wicked and miſerable Deluſions. Theſe Men therefore are for bringing every Thing to the Light, fathoming it to the Bottom, entring into mature and impartial Deliberation, without Paſſion or Prejudice; ſearching into its abſtruſeſt Cauſes, its moſt ſecret Motives and Springs, and tracing them up to their firſt Head.

They

They had much rather continue under the Uneaſineſs of Doubt and Diſſatisfaction, and ſuſpend their Aſſent for a while, than run themſelves into an Error, and take up falſe Confidences, and ſtrong Perſuaſions of Things, which they have no ſufficient Ground to believe or affirm: For That is the effect of Lazineſs or Littleneſs of Soul; grudging the Pains, or wanting the Courage to examine fairly; of Eaſineſs and Credulity, of an unſettled Judgment, or a raſh and haſty Determination. Theſe alas! are but very Few; and may be reckon'd *Retainers* to *Socrates* and *Plato:* They are grave and ſober, modeſt and reſerv'd; they have a greater reſpect to Truth, and the Reality of Things, than the Uſefulneſs and Convenience of them; and had much rather inform Themſelves and Others rightly, than entertain or propagate a Miſtake, which might tend to their Service and Advantage. Now if Theſe have good Moral Diſpoſitions withal; if all the Accompliſhments already mention'd, be crown'd with Integrity, and Probity, and Virtuous Living, They are then Wiſe indeed, The very Perſons whoſe Character we are now enquiring after, and ſuch as this whole Treatiſe is intended to make Men. But we muſt not expect the World ſhould pay them all that Deference which is their due. For they diſoblige Mankind by forſaking the common Road, diſſenſenting from their receiv'd Notions and Rules; making new and troubleſom Diſcoveries, and not ſwallowing all that is brought to them without Chewing. This makes the Vulgar look upon them with a very jealous Eye, as dangerous Perſons; and to diſtinguiſh them by the Titles of *Fanciful Men*, *Virtuoſi*, and *Philoſophers*, in a particular and abuſive Senſe of the Word.

Now

Now the Firſt of theſe Claſſes is abundantly more numerous than the Second; and ſo likewiſe the Second proportionably than the Third. Thoſe of the Firſt, and thoſe of the Laſt Order, the loweſt and the ſublimeſt Souls, never trouble the World at all, nor make any Clutter or Diſturbance. The One are unqualify'd and unable, they are beneath, and want Strength to do it: The other are as much above it, too Wiſe, and too Great, to deſcend to any Troubles of that kind. They have a ſufficiency and firmneſs in their own Mind, and are not concern'd for Things not worth their Care. Thoſe of the Middle Rank make all the Buſtle and Noiſe; the Diſputes, and Diſtractions, and Publick Commotions are all owing to Them. Their Condition and Temper diſpoſes them to it, which is poſitive and conceited, full of Vanity and Preſumption; always in action, and never ſuffering any Thing elſe to be at reſt. Thoſe of the Loweſt Degree, are the very Dregs and Settling of Mankind, the Sink and Refuſe of the World; which, like the Lees, falls to the Bottom of its own accord; and may be compared to the Element of Earth, which hath nothing to do, but to receive all that comes, and bear all that is caſt upon it from Above. The Second Stage is like the Region of the Air, where all thoſe Meteors are form'd, which crack about out Ears, and produce the Changes of Seaſons and Weather, and all the Alterations that affect this lower World; and when they have terrify'd us with dreadful Noiſes and Expectations, at laſt diſſolve, and fall down upon the Earth. Thoſe of the Higheſt Quality are like the Firmament, thoſe Æthereal and Higher Regions, not far diſtant from Heaven it ſelf, which are always clear and ſerene, peaceable and pure.

This

This Difference between Some Men and Others, is in ſome degree owing to Nature, and the Original Diſpoſition; the firſt Compoſition and Temperament of the Brain; which makes a mighty difference according to the predominance of Moiſt and Hot, and the ſeveral Proportions, in which each of theſe Qualities are mixt: For the Minds of Men, and their Underſtandings, will vary wonderfully, and they will be Judicious, Smart, Valiant; or Weak, Dull, and Cowards, according to the laying of theſe Foundations at firſt. But then the Building upon that Groundwork is the Buſineſs of Inſtruction and Diſcipline; Experience, and getting acquainted with the World. So that theſe Diſtinctions are partly Artificial and Acquir'd too, and a Man's own Induſtry and Obſervation is of great Uſe, to diſabuſe his Mind, and bring it to a Manly Senſe of Things. I add upon this Occaſion, that we ſhall deceive our ſelves extremely, if we ſuppoſe any of theſe Claſſes confin'd to particular Profeſſions or Denominations of Men; for there are ſome of all ſorts in all Circumſtances and Characters; High and Low, Learned and Ignorant, Good and Bad; ſome of the meaneſt Souls in the Gown, and ſome of the laſt and moſt exalted Spirits in high Shoes; ſome of ſlender Capacities, but entirely Virtuous; and ſome of wonderful Natural Endowments, who are Monſters of Vice. So that indeed, as the Differences themſelves admit of great Variety, That of the ſeveral Degrees under each Diviſion, and the Diſpoſitions of the Perſons ſo diſtinguiſh'd, is infinite and unconceivable.

2. *Another Diſtinction.*

There is alſo another Diſtinction ſometimes made between Men, with regard to the Abilities and Internal Accompliſhments of the Mind: For ſome are able to make their own Way, beat out a Paſſage where there was no Path, no Light before; and

and are ſo become their own Maſters in Virtue and Wiſdom. Theſe are happy Men indeed; Men of the largeſt Size; and there are but few to whom Nature hath been ſo partially bountiful. Others have need of Aſſiſtance; and of theſe again there are Two ſorts. Some only want Information; if you do but light them, and ſhew them, it is ſufficient; They will follow readily of themſelves. But Others require more Help; a Torch and a Guide is not enough for Them; They have need to be ſupported, and taken by the Hand: A kind Friend to draw and pull them forward, and a Spur ſometimes to quicken them in their Pace. As for Thoſe, whom Nature hath furniſh'd ſo ill, that they are incapable of Inſtruction and Amendment, (which is the Caſe of ſome in the Loweſt Claſs;) or Them who have corrupted Nature; and are grown reſtiff and intractable; which is but too viſible in many of the Second Claſs,) I mention them not; for They (like Beaſts that will neither lead nor drive) can only be left to their own Ruine; deſperate, foolhardy Wretches, of whom no Account at all is to be made, nor any Good to be expected.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Third Diſtinction and Difference between Men, which is Accidental, and relates to their Degrees, Conditions, Offices, and Relations.

THIS *Accidental Diſtinction*, which regards the State of Life wherein Men are placed, the Offices they execute, and the Relations they mutually bear to one another, is grounded upon the Two great Principles, and Fundamental Supports of all Humane Society, which are, Commanding and Obeying, Power and Subjection, a Superiour and an Inferior Station. * For *were it not for Government and Obedience, all this goodly Fabrick would fall to Pieces.* This Diſtinction I ſhall firſt endeavour to repreſent to you in the groſs, by the following Table.

* Imperio & Obſequio omnia conſtant.

The

- All Power and Subjection is either
  - The First and general Division.
    - 1. Private, which extends to
      - 1. Families and Household Government, and here the mutual Relations are contracted Four Ways; and the Authority is of Four Sorts.
        - 1. Conjugal, between the Husband and Wife; This Relation is the Source and Root of all Humane Society.
        - 2. Paternal, between Parents and Children; This is truly and properly Natural.
        - 3. Herile, and that of two Sorts.
          - 1. Of Lords & their Slaves.
          - 2. Of Masters over their Servants.
        - 4. That of Patrons and their Dependants, which is now out of Date, and scarce any where in use.
      - 2. Corporations and Colleges and Civil Communities, such as are call'd the lesser Communities, which relates to the several Members of that particular Body.
    - 2. Publick, and this again is either.
      - 1. Supreme, which is of Three Sorts, according to the Three known Constitutions.
        - 1. *Monarchy*, or a Government vested in one single Person.
        - 2. *Aristocracy*, or that which is administred by a Few of the best Quality.
        - 3. *Democracy*, where the whole Body of the People have some Share in it.
      - 2. Subordinate, which lies between Persons that are both Superiors and Inferiors, when considered in different Respects, and as Places and Persons may alter the Case; and this is a Power of
        - 1. Particular Lords in their several Jurisdictions, and admitting of many Degrees.
        - 2. Officers and Magistrates deputed by the Supreme Power, of which there is likewise great Variety.

2. *Supreme Power Subdivided.*

This *Publick Power*, whether the Supreme, or the Subordinate, admits of ſeveral Subdiviſions, very neceſſary to be attended to. The Supreme, which, as I obſerv'd, is of Three Sorts, according to the different Conſtitutions, aad Methods of Government, executes and exerts it ſelf in as many different Ways, and each of theſe according to the different Temper and Management, hath been diſtinguiſh'd by the Titles of *Kingly*, *Arbitrary*, and *Tyrannical*. *Kingly*, is when the Supreme Power (be it lodged in one, or in more Hands) is it ſelf ſtrictly obedient to the Laws of Nature, and preſerves and protects it Subjects, in their Natural Liberties, and Civil Rights. *All Power, in general, belongs to Kings, particular Properties to Private Men. The King is Univerſal Lord, and hath a Right Paramount; Others have the Right of Lordſhip and Poſſeſſion.* *Arbitrary Government* is, when the Sovereign is Lord of Men's Perſons and Eſtates by Right of Conqueſt; and the Subjects are Govern'd without any regard to Claims, or Laws, or Rights, but in an abſolute Way, as Lords uſe their Slaves. This is rather Bondage and Captivity; *Subjection* is too gentle a Name for it; where Lives are cut off, and Eſtates ſeiz'd, and rack'd, and taken away, at Pleaſure. *Tyrannical Government* is, where the Sovereign deſpiſes and diſregards all the Laws of Nature, and Original Rights of Mankind; and ſo does not only make uſe of, but abuſes the Perſons and Poſſeſſions of the Subjects; and this differs from the former Arbitrary Way, much after the ſame manner that a Robber differs from a Fair Enemy in the Field.

Now, Of theſe Three different Conſtitutions, the *Monarchical*; but of the Three Tempers or Ways of Governing, the *Arbitrary* hath been obſerved to be the moſt Ancient, and beſt Calculated of any, for Grandeur, Continuance, and Splendor. Thus it

it was with the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Ægyptian*, and, at present, that of *Æthiopia*, (the most Ancient of any) *Muscovy*, *Tartary*, *Turkey*, and *Peru*. But the best and most natural Estate is, that manner of Government which we call *Kingly*, according to our late Distinction of it. The Famous *Aristocracies* were that of the *Lacedæmonians* heretofore, and that of the *Venetians* and *States* of *Holland* at this Day. The *Democracies* were *Rome*, *Athens*, *Carthage*; but the Government of all These, as to its Temper and Method of Administration, was what we call *Kingly*.

3. *Of particular Lords.*

The *Publick Power*, which is Subaltern, or Subordinate, is lodg'd in particular Lords, and These are of several Sorts and Degrees, according to their respective Tenures and Capacities. But the most considerable are Five.

1. *Lords Tributary*, who only owe Tribute, and nothing else.

2. *Feudatary Lords*, who hold their Lands in Fee.

3. *Simple Vassals*, who owe Fealty and Homage for their Fee: These Three may be Sovereign themselves too.

4. *Liege Vassals*, that besides Fealty and Homage owe Personal Suit and Service, and so cannot be truly Sovereign.

5. *Natural Subjects*, whether Vassals in Fee or in Cens, or in any other Tenure and Capacity; These owe Subjection and Obedience, and cannot be exempted from the Power of their Sovereign Lord, and yet are Lords themselves.

4. *Officers.*

The *Publick Subordinate Power*, which consists in Offices under, and Proper Officers employ'd by, the Supreme Power, is of several Sorts; but may be reduc'd to Five Degrees, with regard to the Distinctions of *Honour* and *Power*, which belong to, or may direct us in the Consideration of them.

1. The Firſt and loweſt Sort is that of *Publick Executioners*; ſuch as give the laſt Stroke, and finiſh upon Criminals what the Courts of Juſtice have awarded and begun. Theſe, however neceſſary, have yet ſomewhat ſo ſhocking in their Employment, that it hath generally been look'd upon as Odious and Scandalous, and the Perſons in that Office, not ſuffer'd, in many Places, to dwell within the City.

2. The Second are Men that are neither Honourable nor Diſhonourable upon the Account of their Poſt, ſuch as *Sergeants*, *Trumpeters*, and the like.

3. The Third Sort have Honour and Reſpect, indeed, by Vertue of their Office, but no Authority by way of Cognizance or Power; ſuch are *Notaries*, *Receivers*, *Secretaries*, and the like.

4. The Fourth have not an empty Honour only, but Power and Cognizance, and yet not any Juriſdiction, properly ſo call'd; ſuch are the *King's Counſel*, for Example; who may examine Publickly, but can determine or give final Iſſue to nothing.

5. The Laſt have Juriſdiction, properly ſo call'd, and, by Vertue of this, they have all the reſt. And Theſe only, in Strictneſs of Speech, are *Magiſtrates*; which may be diſtinguiſh'd ſeveral Ways, particularly into theſe Five Sorts, each of which is Two-fold.

1. Mayors, Senators, Judges.
   Colonels, *&c.* Generals, Judges.
2. In Politicks or Civil Government.
   In Military Matters.
3. In Queſtions and Caſes of Property and Right.
   In Criminal Caſes, or Tryals of Offenders.
4. Offices Titular, Fix'd, and Hereditary.
   Offices in Particular Commiſſion.

5. Officers

5. Officers Perpetual, of which Nature it is fit, that there ſhould be feweſt, and Thoſe only of the leaſt Conſequence.

Officers Temporal, or Removable, ſuch as all of the Higheſt Importance ought to be.

Of the Conditions and Degrees of Men particularly, according to the foregoing Table.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is neceſſary to obſerve upon this Occaſion, that the ſeveral Diviſions of this Table, and the Diſtinction of thoſe Powers, and their reſpective Dependencies upon, and under, them, (beginning at thoſe which are Private and Domeſtick) are mention'd here with no other Deſign, than to give a diſtinct View of the ſeveral States and Conditions of Men; It being the Intention of this Preſent Book, only to know Man *in all his Capacities.* And therefore a great Part of what might be expected upon the Head of *Power* and *Subjection*, the Reader muſt be content to wait for, till we come to the Third and laſt Part of this Treatiſe: Where, under the Head of *Juſtice*, theſe ſeveral Chapters and Capacities will come under our Conſideration again; and the ſeveral Duties and Virtues required upon their Account will be ſpecified and explained. But, before we enter upon any of them in particular, it may not be amiſs to premiſe ſomewhat briefly, concerning *Command* and *Obedience* in general. Theſe being the reciprocal Exerciſes of the Relations here mention'd. The Two Foundations and Principal Cauſes of all that Variety of Circumſtances, in which Mankind have been already deſcribed.

CHAP. XLV.

Of Command and Obedience.

THeſe, as I ſaid, are the Ground-work, upon which all Humane Society is built; And the many different Conditions, Profeſſions, and Relations, that go to making it up, do all ariſe from, and depend upon, Them. Theſe Two are *Relative Terms*; they mutually regard, produce, preſerve and ſupport each other; and are equally neceſſary in all Companies and Communities of Men; but are, notwithſtanding, liable to Envy and Oppoſition, Miſrepreſentation and Complaint; All which are the natural and conſtant Effects, even of That, without which we are not able to ſubſiſt. The diſcontented Populace would reduce their Sovereign to the Condition of a Car-Man; The Ambition of Monarchs would repreſent him greater than a God. In *Command* is imply'd Dignity, Difficulty (Theſe Two commonly go together) Goodneſs, Ability, and all the Characters and Qualities of Grandeur.

The *Command* it ſelf, that is, The Sufficiency, the Courage, the Authority, and other Qualifications of it, are deriv'd from above, and the Gift of God. * *Empire and Dominion are beſtowed by the Divine Appointment*, and *there is no Power but of God* (ſays the Apoſtle to the ſame Purpoſe.) From whence it was that *Plato* ſaid, God did not place ſome Men over others, that is, not Mere Men, and ſuch as were of the Common Sort and Vul-

* Imperium non niſi divino fato datur. *Rom.* xiii. 1.

gar

gar Qualifications; but the Perſons whom he ſet apart, and exalted for Government, were ſuch as exceeded others; were more finiſhed, eminent for ſome ſingular Virtue, and diſtinguiſhing Gift of Heaven; in ſhort, were ſomewhat more than Men, and ſuch as former Ages gave the Title of *Heroes* to.

Obedience is a Matter of Benefit and Advantage; of Eaſe and Neceſſity; the Obeying well, is of the Two, more conducive to the Publick Peace, and Safety, than the Commanding wiſely; and the Conſequences of withſtanding and refuſing the Commands of our Superiors, or the complying with them Imperfectly and Negligently, are much more Dangerous and Deſtructive, than Ill and Improper Commands Themſelves are, or want of Skill to Govern. Juſt as in the Caſe of a Married Life, the Husband and Wife are equally obliged to Conſtancy of Affection and Fidelity to the Bed; and the Words in which they ſolemnly engage for This, are the very Same for both Parties; the ſame Ceremonies and Formalities to ſignifie and confirm it; but yet the Conſequences are by no means equal, but the Miſchiefs of Diſloyalty are incomparably More, and Greater in an Adulterous Wife, than an Adulterous Husband: So likewiſe *Commanding* and *Obeying* are equally Duties, and neceſſary in all manner of Societies which unite Men to one another; but yet the Diſobedience of the Subject draws much greater Inconveniences after it, than the Unskilfulneſs or the real Faults of the Governour. Several States and Kingdoms have held out a long Courſe, and been reaſonably Proſperous and Flouriſhing, under, not only Ignorant, but very wicked Princes and Magiſtrates, by the mere Force of the Unity, and Compliance, and ready Obedience of the Subjects. Which agrees well with the Anſwer made by a Wiſe Man to that Queſtion, "How

" How it came to paſs, that the Republick of " *Sparta* was ſo remarkably Flouriſhing? And " whether it proceeded from the Wiſdom and " good Conduct of their Governours? Nay, (ſaid " he) I impute it not to their Princes Command- " ing well, but to the Subjects Obeying well. But when the People break their Yoak, or throw it off, and refuſe Obedience, there is no Remedy but ſuch a State muſt be ruin'd, and fall to the Ground.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of Marriage.

1. NOtwithſtanding the State of *Marriage* be antecedent to any other, of the greateſt Antiquity, and the higheſt Importance; The very Foundation and Fountain of all Humane Society, (for *Families* firſt, and then *Commonwealths* ſpring out of it; according to that Obſervation of *Cicero*, *The Firſt Union and neareſt Relation is between Man and Wife; This is the Beginning of Cities, the Nurſery and firſt Plantation of all Publick Communities*) yet it hath had the Ill-Fortune to be diſeſteem'd and run down by ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Wit and Character, who have traduc'd it, as a Condition beneath Men of Underſtanding, and drawn up ſeveral formal Objections againſt it, in particular Theſe that follow.

* Prima Societas in Conjugio eſt, quod principium *Urbis, ſeminarium* Reipublicæ. *Cic. de Offic. Lib.* 1.

First

Firſt of all, They tell you, the Covenants and Obligations they enter into by it, are unreaſonable and unjuſt; we may call it a *Band of Union*; but it is no better than the *Chains* and *Fetters of a Captive*. For what Confinement can be more inſupportable, than That by which a Man ſtakes himſelf down; and becomes a Slave as long as he lives, to Care and Trouble, and the Humours of another Perſon? For this is the Conſequence, if the Couple are unſucceſsful, and unſuitable in their Tempers; That there is no Remedy, but a Man muſt ſtand by his Bargain, be it never ſo bad, and continue wretched without any other poſſible Cure but Death. Now what can be more contrary to Equity and Juſtice, than that the Folly of one half Hour ſhould poyſon the whole Term of all his Years to come? That a Miſtake in one's Choice, or perhaps a Trick, by which he was trapann'd into this Condition, but, to be ſure, an act of Obedience many times to the Commands of a Parent, or Compliance with the Advice of a Friend; a ſubmitting one's Own Judgment and Inclination to the Pleaſure and Diſpoſal of Others: What Reaſon (ſay They) is there that any of theſe Things ſhou'd engage a Man to perpetual Miſery and Torment? Were not the other Nooſe about the Neck the wiſer Choice of the Two? and to end one's Days and Troubles immediately by leaping headlong from ſome Rock into the Sea, than thus to launch out into an Eternity of Pains; to have a Hell upon Earth; and always live and lie by a Storm of Jealouſie and Ill-nature, of Rage and Madneſs, of Obſtinacy, and Affectation, and intractable Perverſeneſs, and other vile Qualities in which the Sex abounds? Hence it was the Saying of one Author, "That whoever firſt invented the "Marriage-Knot, had contrived a very fair and "colourable, but withal, a moſt effectual Expedi-

2. *Objections againſt Marriage.*

"ent

" ent for taking a ſevere Revenge upon Mankind:
" A Snare or Net to catch Fools and Brutes in,
" and then put them to a long and lingring
" Death. And of another, "That for a wiſe Man
" to marry a Fool, or a Woman of Senſe a Cox-
" comb, was like tying the Living to the Dead;
" that ſo by the Extremity of Cold from the Car-
" kaſs, the Body might chill and languiſh, till at
" laſt it expire; which is of all Capital Puniſh-
" ments the moſt barbarous, that ever Tyrants
" have been able to invent.

The Second Accuſation imports, That *Marriage* corrupts and adulterates Generous and Great Minds, by ſoftening and abating, nay utterly enfeebling and diſſolving their Life and Vigour, by the little Dalliances, and Flatterings, and Wheedles of a Perſon, of whom one is fond; by Tenderneſs for one's Children, Care and Management of Domeſtick Affairs, and Sollicitude to provide for, and raiſe one's Family in the World. What lamentable Inſtances of this Effeminacy are *Samſon*, and *Solomon*, and *Mark Anthony*? whoſe Falls ſtand in Story, like ſo many noble Ruines, to put us in mind of that Enemy, with ſome Indignation, that undermin'd and demoliſh'd what Nature had made ſo ſtrong. If then there muſt be Marrying, it is fit (ſay they) that This ſhould be left to Fellows that have more Body than Soul; let Them go on ſecurely, being ſo well qualify'd, and having ſo little to hazard; and the Cares and Burden of the World are indeed propereſt for Them; for ſuch mean and low Conſiderations are Employments juſt of a Size with Their Capacities. But as for Thoſe, whom Nature hath been ſo liberal to in another kind, and given them good Senſe, and noble Souls, capable of greater and better Things, Is it not pity to ſhackle and bind Them down to the World and the Fleſh, as you do

Beaſts

aſts to the Manger? Nay, even among Beaſts, ne Diſtinctions are made too; for Thoſe among :m that are moſt eſteem'd for Service and Cou-ge, (as among Dogs and Horſes particularly) kept up at a diſtance, and forbidden all Ap-ſaches of the other Sex; Others of leſs Value ſer-ıg to breed upon very well. Accordingly among ankind, Thoſe that are devoted to the moſt :nerable and Holy Profeſſions, the Service of the tar, and a Recluſe Life, both Men and Women; :h whoſe Stations oblige them to be the moſt cellent Part of the World, the Flower and Or-ment of Chriſtian Religion, Clergy and Mona-cks are forbidden by the Church of *Rome* ever Marry at all. And the Reaſon moſt certainly This, that *Marriage* obſtructs Wiſdom and Vir-e, calls off the Mind, and gives it too ſtrong ıd too frequent a Diverſion, clips its Wings, and ıecks its nobleſt Flights. For the Contemplation High, and Heavenly, and Divine Objects, is by) means conſiſtent with the Clutter, and Hurry, ıd ſordid Cares of Family-concerns: Upon which ccount it is that the Apoſtle, who commands *ntinency* even in *Marriage*, hath preferr'd abſolute *elibacy* before it. *Marriage* perhaps may have the dvantage in Point of Profit and Convenience, ıt the Honour and the Virtue (they tell you) is ɔnfeſſedly on the other ſide.

Beſides; It confounds Men's Meaſures, and de-ats noble and pious Intentions and Undertakings. *Auguſtin* gives an Account to this purpoſe, That le and ſome other Friends of his, ſome whereof 'ere married Men, having formed a Deſign of re-ring from the Town, and all Converſation with ıe World, into ſome Solitude, that ſo they might ave nothing to employ their Thoughts but the :udy of Wiſdom and Virtue; their whole Scheme 'as immediately interrupted, and utterly quaſh'd, by

by the Interpoſition of their *Wives.* And another wiſe Man hath given us his Opinion, "That if "Men could prevail with Themſelves to give over "all Converſation with Women, Angels would "certainly viſit and keep them Company.

Once more; *Marriage* is a great Hindrance to Men's Improvement; particularly it keeps them at home, and cuts them off from the Opportunities of Travelling, and converſing with Foreign Countries: which is really a great Accompliſhment, and a mighty Convenience, to learn Wiſdom one's ſelf, and to teach it to others, and to communicate what we have ſeen and known, to thoſe who want the ſame Opportunities. In ſhort; *Marriage* does not only cramp up, and depreſs great Parts, and great Souls, but it deprives the World of many noble Deſigns, Works of Munificence, and Charity, and Publick Good; it renders a Man incapable of ſerving his Country, and attempting ſuch Things, as He can give no entertainment to the Thoughts of, in the Embraces of a tender Wife, and his Little ones round about him. For Theſe need and require the Care and Preſervation of Himſelf; and ſerve for an Excuſe; at leaſt they cool his Courage, to Actions that are Brave, if at the ſame time they ſeem Deſperate, or are manifeſtly Dangerous. And is it not a *noble* Sight now, to ſee a Man that is fit to be at the Helm, trifling away his Time at home, playing and telling Stories with his Wife and Children in the Chimney-corner? Is it not Ten Thouſand Pities, that One who is capable of Governing and Directing a World, ſhould be entirely bury'd in Secreſie, loſt to the Publick, and taken up with the Concerns of a ſingle Family? Upon this Conſideration it was, that a Great Man, when his Friends moved a Match to him, made anſwer, *That he was born to Command Men, and not*

one pretty little Toy of a Woman; to Adviſe and give Rules to Kings and Princes, and not to Boys and Girles.

To that Part of theſe Objections, which carry any ſerious Argument, (for a great deal of them is Raillery only) we may anſwer as follows; That Humane Nature muſt be conſider'd, as it really is; A State not capable of Abſolute Perfection; nor was ſuch a Life here ever intended for us, as we ſhould have nothing in it to be found fault with, nothing that ſhould croſs, or give us cauſe to wiſh it otherwiſe. Our very Remedies muſt make us a little ſick, even when they are promoting our Health and Recovery; and every Convenience carries its Abatement, and is clogg'd and incumbred with ſome Inconvenience inſeparable from it. Theſe are *Evils*, allow it, but they are *Neceſſary Evils*. And if the Caſe be not well in all Points, yet this is the beſt of it; for there is no other way poſſible to be deviſed for the preſerving and propagating Mankind, but what would make the Matter infinitely worſe, and be liable to More and Greater Evils. Some indeed, (as *Plato* in particular) would fain have rooted out theſe Thorns, and refin'd upon the Point, by inventing other Methods for the Continuance of the Species; but after all their Hammering and Poliſhing, Thoſe Conceits at laſt prov'd mere Caſtles in the Air; Things perfectly impracticable, and ſuch as if once receiv'd could never have laſted; and beſides, it appear'd evidently, that tho' they had been practis'd and approv'd, yet even Theſe were loaded too with a great many Inconveniences, and ſore Difficulties. The Truth is, Men create their Own Uneaſineſs, and make all the Hardſhip to Themſelves; Their Vices and Intemperances, the Violence and the Contrariety of their Paſſions, are their Tormentors; and then they blame the State in

3. *Anſwer to them.*

in which they feel and ſuffer thoſe Torments. But That is clear, and free from Guilt, and ſo is every Thing but *Man* himſelf, who turns every Thing againſt Himſelf, and knows not how to uſe any Condition as he ought, and to the beſt Advantage. But Thoſe that are Philoſophers indeed, will go a great deal farther; They will tell you, Theſe very Difficulties recommend *Marriage* the more, as rendring it a School of Virtue, an Apprenticeſhip to learn it, a daily and Domeſtick Exerciſe to perfect and render it familiar to us. And *Socrates*, that great Oracle of Wiſdom, when People reproached him with the peeviſh and imperious Humour of his Wife, declar'd that it was an Advantage to him; for by that means he learnt at home to behave himſelf with Conſtancy and Patience in all Accidents and Companies abroad; and to make all the Uneaſineſſes of Fortune go down very glibly. But This, tho' it want not a great deal of good Senſe at the Bottom, and may be very uſeful to Men of good Diſpoſitions, and Capacity enough to ſerve themſelves of it, is yet ſuch an Argument as I do not expect many Converts from. Admitting then, that They who continue ſingle do beſt conſult their Own private Eaſe and Satisfaction: Admit it better and more prudent thus to reſerve one's ſelf for Piety and Devotion, and eminent Degrees of Virtue, by preventing all thoſe Avocations and Interruptions, which the Cares of a Married Life unavoidably expoſe us to. (And it is in this Senſe, and for theſe Purpoſes only, that St. *Paul* prefers a State of *Celibacy*, which thoſe that make uſe of, and pretend to be directed by his Authority, would do well to conſider) Yet after all, with what Face can any Chriſtian ſpeak in diſparagement of *Marriage*, who remembers at all, what the *Faith* he makes profeſſion of, hath taught him to believe in Honour of it?

t? For, when all is done, theſe are unanſwerable, nd they ought to be eſteem'd very Sacred Argunents, ſuch as ſhould command our higheſt Veneation and Reſpect, That it is of God's own Inſtitution, That it was his firſt Ordinance, That he ppointed it in Paradiſe, in a State of Innocence nd Perfection, when Humane Nature was in all ts Glory. Theſe are Four weighty Conſiderations, nd ought to recommend, at leaſt, to deliver it rom diminiſhing Reflections, when they are not apable of a ſober Reply. After this we find, that he Son of God himſelf was pleas'd to honour nd approve it with his Preſence, to work his firſt Miracle in favour of it, and the Perſons engag'd in t; nay, that he hath condeſcended to make uſe of This, as a Figure of that moſt Sacred and Inviola-ble Union betwixt Him and his Church; and upon hat Account, given it the Privilege of being ſtyl'd *Myſtery*, a *Great and Divine Myſtery*. Ephes. v. 4.

It muſt be acknowledg'd, indeed, that *Marriage* s by no means an indifferent Thing: It admits of no Middle State, but is apt to run into Extremes, nd is generally the greateſt Happineſs, or the great-eſt Calamity of Humane Life; a State of much Tranquillity, or of inſupportable Trouble; a Pa-adiſe or a Hell. If well and wiſely undertaken, t is full of Sweetneſs and Pleaſure; if ill and unſucceſsfully, it is a grievous Burden, a bitter, nd fatal, and moſt painful Yoke. For this Co-venant and Coming together, does above any other Inſtance make good the Truth of that Pro-verb, That * *Men are either Gods or Brutes to one another.* *It is a Great Good, or a Great Evil.*

* Homo Homini aut Deus aut Lupus.

in which they feel and ſuffer thoſe Torments. But That is clear, and free from Guilt, and ſo is every Thing but *Man* himſelf, who turns every Thing againſt Himſelf, and knows not how to uſe any Condition as he ought, and to the beſt Advantage. But Thoſe that are Philoſophers indeed, will go a great deal farther; They will tell you, Theſe very Difficulties recommend *Marriage* the more, as rendring it a School of Virtue, an Apprenticeſhip to learn it, a daily and Domeſtick Exerciſe to perfect and render it familiar to us. And *Socrates*, that great Oracle of Wiſdom, when People reproached him with the peeviſh and imperious Humour of his Wife, declar'd that it was an Advantage to him; for by that means he learnt at home to behave himſelf with Conſtancy and Patience in all Accidents and Companies abroad; and to make all the Uneaſineſſes of Fortune go down very glibly. But This, tho' it want not a great deal of good Senſe at the Bottom, and may be very uſeful to Men of good Diſpoſitions, and Capacity enough to ſerve themſelves of it, is yet ſuch an Argument as I do not expect many Converts from. Admitting then, that They who continue ſingle do beſt conſult their Own private Eaſe and Satisfaction: Admit it better and more prudent thus to reſerve one's ſelf for Piety and Devotion, and eminent Degrees of Virtue, by preventing all thoſe Avocations and Interruptions, which the Cares of a Married Life unavoidably expoſe us to. (And it is in this Senſe, and for theſe Purpoſes only, that St. *Paul* prefers a State of *Celibacy*, which thoſe that make uſe of, and pretend to be directed by his Authority, would do well to conſider) Yet after all, with what Face can any Chriſtian ſpeak in diſparagement of *Marriage*, who remembers at all, what the *Faith* he makes profeſſion of, hath taught him to believe in Honour of it?

it? For, when all is done, theſe are unanſwerable, and they ought to be eſteem'd very Sacred Arguments, ſuch as ſhould command our higheſt Veneration and Reſpect, That it is of God's own Inſtitution, That it was his firſt Ordinance, That he appointed it in Paradiſe, in a State of Innocence and Perfection, when Humane Nature was in all its Glory. Theſe are Four weighty Conſiderations, and ought to recommend, at leaſt, to deliver it from diminiſhing Reflections, when they are not capable of a ſober Reply. After this we find, that the Son of God himſelf was pleas'd to honour and approve it with his Preſence, to work his firſt Miracle in favour of it, and the Perſons engag'd in it; nay, that he hath condeſcended to make uſe of This, as a Figure of that moſt Sacred and Inviolable Union betwixt Him and his Church; and upon that Account, given it the Privilege of being ſtyl'd a *Myſtery*, a *Great and Divine Myſtery*. Ephes. v.

4. *It is a Great Good, or a Great Evil.*

It muſt be acknowledg'd, indeed, that *Marriage* is by no means an indifferent Thing: It admits of no Middle State, but is apt to run into Extremes, and is generally the greateſt Happineſs, or the greateſt Calamity of Humane Life; a State of much Tranquillity, or of inſupportable Trouble; a Paradiſe or a Hell. If well and wiſely undertaken, it is full of Sweetneſs and Pleaſure; if ill and unſucceſsfully, it is a grievous Burden, a bitter, and fatal, and moſt painful Yoke. For this Covenant and Coming together, does above any other Inſtance make good the Truth of that Proverb, That * *Men are either Gods or Brutes to one another.*

* Homo Homini aut Deus aut Lupus.

in which they feel and ſuffer thoſe Torments. But That is clear, and free from Guilt, and ſo is every Thing but *Man* himſelf, who turns every Thing againſt Himſelf, and knows not how to uſe any Condition as he ought, and to the beſt Advantage. But Thoſe that are Philoſophers indeed, will go a great deal farther; They will tell you, Theſe very Difficulties recommend *Marriage* the more, as rendring it a School of Virtue, an Apprenticeſhip to learn it, a daily and Domeſtick Exerciſe to perfect and render it familiar to us. And *Socrates*, that great Oracle of Wiſdom, when People reproached him with the peeviſh and imperious Humour of his Wife, declar'd that it was an Advantage to him; for by that means he learnt at home to behave himſelf with Conſtancy and Patience in all Accidents and Companies abroad; and to make all the Uneaſineſſes of Fortune go down very glibly. But This, tho' it want not a great deal of good Senſe at the Bottom, and may be very uſeful to Men of good Diſpoſitions, and Capacity enough to ſerve themſelves of it, is yet ſuch an Argument as I do not expect many Converts from. Admitting then, that They who continue ſingle do beſt conſult their Own private Eaſe and Satisfaction: Admit it better and more prudent thus to reſerve one's ſelf for Piety and Devotion, and eminent Degrees of Virtue, by preventing all thoſe Avocations and Interruptions, which the Cares of a Married Life unavoidably expoſe us to. (And it is in this Senſe, and for theſe Purpoſes only, that St. *Paul* prefers a State of *Celibacy*, which thoſe that make uſe of, and pretend to be directed by his Authority, would do well to conſider) Yet after all, with what Face can any Chriſtian ſpeak in diſparagement of *Marriage*, who remembers at all, what the *Faith* he makes profeſſion of, hath taught him to believe in Honour of it?

it? For, when all is done, theſe are unanſwerable, and they ought to be eſteem'd very Sacred Arguments, ſuch as ſhould command our higheſt Veneration and Reſpect, That it is of God's own Inſtitution, That it was his firſt Ordinance, That he appointed it in Paradiſe, in a State of Innocence and Perfection, when Humane Nature was in all its Glory. Theſe are Four weighty Conſiderations, and ought to recommend, at leaſt, to deliver it from diminiſhing Reflections, when they are not capable of a ſober Reply. After this we find, that the Son of God himſelf was pleas'd to honour and approve it with his Preſence, to work his firſt Miracle in favour of it, and the Perſons engag'd in it; nay, that he hath condeſcended to make uſe of This, as a Figure of that moſt Sacred and Inviolable Union betwixt Him and his Church; and upon that Account, given it the Privilege of being ſtyl'd a *Myſtery*, a *Great and Divine Myſtery*. Ephes. v.

4. *It is a Great Good, or a Great Evil.*

It muſt be acknowledg'd, indeed, that *Marriage* is by no means an indifferent Thing: It admits of no Middle State, but is apt to run into Extremes, and is generally the greateſt Happineſs, or the greateſt Calamity of Humane Life; a State of much Tranquillity, or of inſupportable Trouble; a Paradiſe or a Hell. If well and wiſely undertaken, it is full of Sweetneſs and Pleaſure; if ill and unſucceſsfully, it is a grievous Burden, a bitter, and fatal, and moſt painful Yoke. For this Covenant and Coming together, does above any other Inſtance make good the Truth of that Proverb, That * *Men are either Gods or Brutes to one another.*

* Homo Homini aut Deus aut Lupus.

5. *When Good, it is exceedingly ſo.*

Marriage is a Work compos'd of a great many Parts, and a great many Qualities muſt meet together, to render it Beautiful and Uniform. Abundance of Conſiderations are neceſſary in order to it, more than reſpect merely the Perſons of thoſe to be concern'd in it. For tho' it be commonly ſaid, *Men marry for themſelves alone*, yet there ought to be great regard had to Poſterity; the Family we go into, the Alliances we make, the Circumſtances and Condition of the People are of great weight. And Theſe and other Reſpects muſt be carefully attended to: But above all, the Temper and the Virtues, which ought to be the principal Objects and Motives of our Affection. The want of proceeding in this manner, is the very reaſon why we ſee ſo few happy Matches. And the extreme Scarcity of ſuch, is a ſign that Marriage is highly valuable: For it is a Fate common to all great Poſts, that they are difficult, and very ſeldom diſcharg'd as they ought to be. Kingly Power and Government is beſet with Cares and Difficulties, and very few that aſpire to it, are ſtrictly Virtuous and Succeſsful in the Adminiſtration. But the true Ground of failing ſo frequently in this Point, is to be fetch'd from the Licentiouſneſs and Debauchery, the Unruly Paſſions and Exorbitant Humours of Mankind, and not from any thing in the State and Inſtitution it ſelf. From hence it is, that we find experimentally, Such as are of good, and quiet, and virtuous Diſpoſitions, plain and mean Perſons taſte more of the Comforts, and enjoy themſelves more in it, than others of higher Quality and Attainments. Senſual Deſires, and the Delights of the World, have taken leſs hold of ſuch; they are leſs nice and curious, and have not ſo much leiſure to teaze and torment themſelves. Men that are debauch'd, and love to live at large, corrupt in their Manners, troubleſome in their Converſation,

tion, whimſical, and particular in their Humours, are not cut out for this Condition of Life, nor can ever expect to be tolerably eaſy under it.

6. *A general Deſcription of it.*

Marriage is a Wiſe and Prudent Bargain, a Holy and Inviolable League, an Honourable Agreement. If this Knot be well ty'd, there is not in the whole World any thing more beautiful, more lovely, more deſirable: It is a ſweet and noble Society, full of Conſtancy and mutual Truſt; full of infinite Good Offices and reciprocal Obligations; moſt excellent in their own Nature, moſt uſeful to the Parties themſelves, and of general Service and Benefit to Mankind. This is a Converſation, Amorous, not of Love and Senſual Delight, but of chaſte Affection and entire Friendſhip. For *Love* in theſe Two Senſes is a very different Thing, and the One as diſtant from the Other, as the feveriſh and diſeaſed Heat of a Sick Man is from the natural Warmth of a good Temper and healthful Conſtitution. *Marriage* challenges to it ſelf Affection and Advantage, Juſtice and Honour, Conſtancy and Pleaſure. Call its Fruitions flat and inſipid if you pleaſe, but yet they are ſolid and ſubſtantial, agreeable and univerſal: They muſt needs be ſo indeed, becauſe they are lawful and innocent; free from the Cenſure of Others, and the Reproaches of one's Own Mind. What the World calls *Love*, aims at nothing but Delight; it hath perhaps ſomewhat of Sprightlineſs, and is of a quicker and more poignant Reliſh; but this cannot hold long, and we plainly ſee it cannot, by ſo few Matches ſucceeding well, where Beauty and Amorous Deſires were at the bottom of them: There muſt be ſomething more ſolid to make us happy. A Building that is to ſtand for our whole Lives, ought to be ſet upon firmer Foundations; and theſe Engagements are ſerious Matters, ſuch

as deſerve, and it is Pity but they ſhould have our utmoſt Diſcretion employ'd upon them. That hot Love bubbles and boils in our Breaſts for a while, but it is worth nothing, and cannot continue; and therefore it very often happens, that theſe Affairs are very fortunately manag'd by a Third Hand.

7. *Another more particular one.* This Deſcription is only Summary, and in general Terms. But, that the Caſe may be more perfectly and particularly underſtood, it is fit we take Notice, that there are Two Things Eſſential and abſolutely Neceſſary to this State of Life, which, however contrary and inconſiſtent they may at Firſt Sight appear, are yet in Reality no ſuch Matter. Theſe are *Equality* and *Inequality*; the Former concerns them as Friends, and Companions, and upon the Level; the Other, as a Superiour and an Inferiour. The *Equality* conſiſts in that entire Freedom, and unreſerved Communication, whereby they ought to have all Things in common; their Souls, Inclinations, Wills, Bodies, Goods, are mutually from thenceforward made over; and neither of them hath any longer a peculiar and diſtinct Propriety excluſive of the other. This, in ſome Places is carry'd a great deal farther, and extends to Life and Death too; inſomuch, that aſſoon as the Husband is dead, the Wife is oblig'd to follow him without Delay. There are ſome Countries, where the Publick and National Laws require them to do ſo; and they are oftentimes ſo zealous in their Obedience, that where Polygamy is indulged, if a Man leaves ſeveral Wives behind him, they try for it publickly, and enter up their Claims, which of them ſhall obtain the Honour and Privilege of ſleeping with their Spouſe (that is the Expreſſion they ſoften it by) and upon this Occaſion, each urges in her own behalf, that ſhe was the beſt belov'd Wife, or had the laſt Kiſs of him, or

brought

brought him Children, or the like, ſo to gain the Preference to themſelves.

Th' Ambitious Rivals eagerly purſue
Death, as their Crown to Love and Virtue due;
Prefer their Claims, and glory in Succeſs,
Their Lords firſt Nuptials are courted leſs:
Approach his Pile with Pomp, in Triumph burn,
And mingle Aſhes in one Common Urn.

In other Places, where no Laws enjoyn'd any ſuch Thing, it hath been reſolv'd and practis'd, by mutual Stipulation and voluntary Agreement, made privately between the Parties themſelves, which was the Caſe of *Mark Anthony* and *Cleopatra*. But omitting this, which, in truth, is a wicked, barbarous and unreaſonable Cuſtom, The Equality which is, and ought to be, between Man and Wife, extends it ſelf to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and Inſpection over the Family in common; from whence the Wife hath very juſtly the Title of Lady or Miſtreſs of the Houſe and Servants; as well as the Husband that of Maſter and Lord over them. And this joint Authority of Theirs over their own Private Family is a Picture in Little of that Form of Publick Government, which is term'd an *Ariſtocracy*.

8. *Inequality.*

That Diſtinction of Superiour and Inferiour, which makes the *Inequality*, conſiſts in this. That the Husband hath a Power and Authority over his Wife, and the Wife is plac'd in Subjection to her Husband. The Laws and Governments of all Nations throughout the World agree in this Preeminence;

Et certamen habent lethi, quæ viva ſequatur
Conjugium, pudor eſt non licuiſſe mori:
Ardent Victrices, & flammæ pectora præbent,
Imponuntq; ſuis Ora peruſta viris.

but the Nature and the Degrees of it are not every where the ſame: For Theſe differ in Proportion, as the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Place differ. Thus far the Conſent is Univerſal; That the Woman, how noble ſoever her Birth and Family, how great ſoever her Fortunes, or any other Perſonal Advantages, is not upon any Conſideration exempted from Subjection to her Husband. This *Superiority* and *Inferiority* may well be general, and be the Opinion of *All*, when it is ſo plainly the Condition of All. For, *in* truth, it is the Work of Nature, and founded upon that Strength, and Sufficiency, and Majeſty of the One Sex, and the Weakneſs, and Softneſs, and Incapacities of the Other, which prove it not equally qualify'd, nor ever deſign'd for Government. But there are many other Arguments beſides, which Divines fetch from Scripture upon this Occaſion, and prove the Point indeed ſubſtantially by Them. For *Revelation* here hath back'd and enforc'd the Dictates of *Reaſon*, by telling us expreſly, that *Man* was made firſt, that he was made by God alone, and entirely by Him, without any Creature of a like Form contributing any thing towards his Being. That he was created on purpoſe for the Pleaſure and Glory of God, his Head; That he was made after the Divine Image and Likeneſs; a Copy of the Great Original above, and perfect in his Kind: For Nature always begins with ſomething in its juſt Perfection: Whereas *Woman* was created in the Second Place; and not ſo properly Created as Formed; made after *Man*; taken out of his Subſtance; * Faſhioned according to that Pattern, and to His Image, and only the Co-

* *See* 1 Corinth. xi. 7. 8. *The Man is the* Image *and* Similitude *of God; but the Woman is the* Similitude *of the Man. So* εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα *ought to be render'd in the Senſe of* deuteo ſimilis ſum, *not* Glory, *as we read it, which is foreign to the reſt of the Words, and the whole Scope of that Argument.*

py of a Copy; made occaſionally, and for particular Uſes, to be a Help, and a Second to the Man; who is himſelf the Principal and Head, and therefore She is upon all theſe Accounts *Imperfect*. Thus we may argue from the Order of Nature; But the Thing is confirmed yet more by the Relation given us of the *Corruption* and *Fall of Man*. For the *Woman* was firſt in the Tranſgreſſion; and ſinned of her own Head; *Man* came in afterwards, and by her Inſtigation. The *Woman* therefore, who was laſt in Good, in order of Nature, and Occaſional only; but foremoſt in Evil, and the Occaſion of That to *Man*, is moſt juſtly put in Subjection to Him, who was before Her in the Good, and after in the Evil.

9. *The Power of the Huſband.*

This *Conjugal Superiority* and Power hath been very differently reſtrain'd or enlarg'd. In ſome Places, where the Paternal Authority hath been ſo, This hath likewiſe extended to Capital Puniſhment, and made the Husband Judge and Diſpoſer of Life and Death. Thus it was with the *Romans* particularly: For the Laws of *Romulus* gave a Man Power to kill his Wife in Four *Caſes*, (viz.) *Adultery*, *Putting Falſe Children upon him*, *Falſe Keys*, and *Drinking of Wine*. Thus *Polybius* tells us, that the *Greeks*; and *Cæſar* ſays, that the Old *Gauls* gave Husbands a Power of Life and Death. In Other Parts, and in theſe already mention'd, ſince thoſe Times, their Power hath been brought into a narrower Compaſs. But almoſt every where it is taken for granted, that the *Authority* of the Husband, and the Subjection of the Wife, implies thus much: A right to direct and controul the Actions, to confirm or diſannul the Reſolutions and Vows of the Wife; to correct her, when ſhe does amiſs, by Reproofs and Confinement; for (*Blows* are below a Man of Honour to give, and not fit for a Woman to receive) and the Wife is obliged to conform to

Dionyſ. Halic. l. 2.

the Condition, to follow the Quality, the Country, the Family, the Dwelling, and the Degree of her Husband; to bear him Company whereſoever he goes, in Journeys and Voyages, in Baniſhment and in Priſon, in Flight and Neceſſity; and, if he be reduc'd to that hard Fortune, to wander about, and to beg with him. Some celebrated Examples of this kind in Story are, *Sulpitia*, who attended her Husband *Lentulus*, when he was proſcribed, and an Exile in *Scicily*. *Erithrea*, who went along with her Husband *Phalaris* into Baniſhment. *Ipſicrate*, the Wife of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, who kept her Husband Company, when he turn'd Vagabond, after his Defeat by *Pompey*. Some add, that they are bound to follow them into the Wars, and Foreign Countries, when they are ſent abroad upon Expeditions, or go under any Publick Character. The *Wife* cannot ſue, or be ſued, in Matters of Right and Property; all Actions lie againſt the *Husband*, and are to be commenced in His Name; and if any thing of this kind be any where done, it muſt be with the Leave and Authority of her Husband, or by particular Appointment of the Judge, if the Husband ſhall decline or refuſe it; neither can ſhe, without expreſs Permiſſion from the Magiſtrate, appeal from, or be a Party in any Cauſe againſt her Husband.

Tacit.

10. *Different Laws about it.*

Marriage is not every where alike, nor under the ſame Limitations; the Laws and Rules concerning it are very different. In ſome Countries there is a greater Latitude, and more Liberties indulg'd, in Others leſs. The Chriſtian Religion, which is by much the ſtricteſt of any, hath made it very cloſe and ſtrait. It leaves nothing at large, and in our own Choice, but the firſt Entrance into this Engagement. When once that is over, a Man's Will is made over too, and convey'd away; for the Covenant is ſubject to no Diſſolution, and

we

we muſt abide by it, whether we are contented with our Terms, or not. Other Nations and Religions, have contrived to make it more Eaſie, and Free, and Fruitful, by allowing and practiſing *Poligamy* and *Divorce*; a Liberty of taking Wives and diſmiſſing them again; and they ſpeak hardly of Chriſtianity for abridging Men in theſe Two Particulars, as if it did great Prejudice to Affection and Multiplication by theſe Reſtraints, which are the Two great Ends of Marriage: For Friendſhip, they pretend, is an Enemy to all manner of Compulſion and Neceſſity; and cannot conſiſt with it; but is much more improved, and better maintain'd, by leaving Men free, and at large to diſpoſe of Themſelves. And Multiplication is promoted by the Female Sex, as Nature ſhews us abundantly in that one Inſtance of Wolves, who are ſo extremely Fruitful in the Production of their Whelps, even to the Number of Twelve, or Thirteen at a time; and in this exceed other Animals of Service and common Uſe very much, ſo many of which are kill'd every Day; and ſo few Wolves; and yet there are notwithſtanding fewer of the Breed, Breeders, becauſe fewer She-Wolves, than of any other Species. For, as I ſaid, the true Reaſon is, becauſe in all thoſe Numerous Litters, there is commonly but one Bitch-Wolf, which for the moſt Part ſignifies little, and bears very rarely; the Generation being hindred by the vaſt Numbers and promiſcuous Mixtures of the Males; and ſo, the much greater part of them die, without ever propagating their Kind at all, for want of a ſufficient Proportion of Females, to do it by ſucceſsfully. It is alſo manifeſt, what Advantages of this Nature *Polygamy* produces, by the vaſt Increaſe of thoſe Countries where it is allowed; The *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and other Barbarous Nations, (as all their Hiſtories inform us) very uſually bringing Armies into the

Of Polygamy and Divorce.

the Field, of Three or Four Hundred Thouſand fighting Men. Now the Chriſtian Religion, on the contrary, allows but One to One, and obliges the Parties to continue thus together; though Either, nay ſometimes Both, of them be Barren; which yet perhaps, if allowed to change, might leave a numerous Poſterity behind them. But, ſuppoſing the very beſt of the Caſe, all their Increaſe muſt depend upon the Production of One ſingle Woman. And laſtly, they reflect upon Chriſtianity, as the occaſion of infinite Exceſſes, Debaucheries, and Adulteries, by this too ſevere Conſtraint.

But the true and ſufficient Anſwer to all theſe Objections is, That the *Chriſtian Religion* does not conſider Marriage upon ſuch Reſpects as are purely Humane, and tend to the Gratification of Natural Appetites, or promote the Temporal Good of Men: It takes quite another Proſpect of the Thing, and hath Reaſons peculiar to it ſelf, ſublime, and noble, and infinitely greater, (as hath been hinted already.) Beſides, common Experience demonſtrates, that in much the greateſt part of Marry'd Perſons, what they complain of as Confinement and Conſtraint, does by no means cool and deſtroy, but promote and heighten the Affection, and render it more dear and ſtrong, by keeping it more entire and unbroken. Eſpecially in Men of honeſt Principles, and good Diſpoſitions, which eaſily accommodate their Humours, and make it their Care and Study to comply with the Tempers of the Perſon to whom they are thus inſeparably united. And as for the Debaucheries and Flyings out alledg'd againſt us, the only Cauſe of Them is the Diſſoluteneſs of Men's Manners; which a greater Liberty, though never ſo great, will never be able to correct, or put a Stop to. And accordingly we find, that Adulteries were every whit

but as rife in the midſt of Polygamy and Divorce; Witneſs the whole Nation of the *Jews* in neral, and the Example of *David* in particular, ho became guilty of this Crime, notwithſtandg the Multitude he had of *Wives* and *Concubines* of s own. On the contrary, Theſe Vices were not nown for a long while together in other Counies, where neither Polygamy nor Divorce were ver permitted; as in *Sparta*, for Inſtance, and at *ome*, for a conſiderable time after the Founding f that City. It is therefore moſt fooliſh and unuſt, to aſperſe *Religion*, and charge That with the /ices of Men, which allows and teaches nothing, ut exquiſite Purity and ſtrict Continence.

This Liberty taken in *Polygamy*, (which hath ſo great an Appearance of Nature to alledge in its behalf) hath yet been very differently managed, according to the ſeveral Nations, and the Laws of thoſe Communities, where it was allow'd and praſtis'd. In ſome Places, All that are Wives to the ſame Man, live alike, and in common. Their Degree and Quality, the Reſpect and Authority is equal, and ſo is the Condition and Title of their Children too. In other Places there is one particular Wife, who is the Principal, and a ſort of Miſtreſs above the reſt; the Right of Inheritance is limited to the Children by Her; they engroſs all the Honours, and Poſſeſſions, and Pre-eminences of the Husband after his Death: As for the Others, they are lodg'd and maintain'd apart, treated very differently from the former: In ſome Places they are reputed *Lawful Wives*; in ſome they are only ſtiled *Concubines*; and their Children have no Pretenſion to Titles or Eſtates; but are provided for by ſuch annual Penſions, or other precarious ways of Subſiſting, as the Maſter of the Family thinks fit to allow them. 11. *Polygamy differently practiſed.*

As

12. *Divorce differently practised.*

As various have the Practice and the Customs of Men been with regard to *Divorce*! For with some, as particularly the *Hebrews*, and *Greeks*, and *Armenians*, they never oblige Themselves to alledge the particular Cause of Separation; nor are they allow'd to take a Wife to them a Second time, which they have once divorc'd; So far from it, that they are permitted to Marry again to others. But now in the *Mahometan Law*, Separation must be appointed by a Judge, and after Legal Process, (except it be done by the free Consent of both Parties) and the Crimes alledg'd against the Woman must be some of so high a Nature, as strike directly at the Root of this Institution, and are destructive and inconsistent with the State of Marriage, or some of the principal Ends of it; such as *Adultery*, *Barrenness*, *Incongruity of Humours*, *Attempts upon the Life of the other Party*; and, after such Separation made, it is lawful for them to be reconcil'd, and cohabit again, as oft as they think fit. The Former of these Methods seems much more prudent and convenient, that so there may be a closer Restraint both upon the Pride and Insolence of Wives, when they lye at Mercy, and may be cast off at Pleasure; and also upon the Humoursome and Peevish Husbands, who will be more apt to check and moderate their Resentments, when there is no Return, nothing to be got by repenting, after once Matters have flown so high, as to provoke and effect a Separation. The Second, which proceeds in a Method of Justice, brings the Parties upon the Publick Stage, exposes their Faults and Follies to the World, cuts them out from Second Marriages; and discovers a great many things, which were much better kept conceal'd. And, in case the Allegation be not fully prov'd; and so they continue oblig'd to cohabit still, after all this mutual Complaining and Disgrace, What a Temptation is here to Poysoning or Murder,

der, to get rid that way of a Partner of the Bed, which in Courſe of Law cannot be remov'd? And many of theſe Villanies, no doubt, have been committed, of which the World never had the leaſt Knowledge or Suſpicion. As at *Rome* particularly, before Divorce came in uſe, a Woman who was apprehended for Poyſoning her Husband, impeached other Wives, whom ſhe knew to have been guilty of the ſame Fact; and They again others, till at laſt Threeſcore and Ten were all Attainted and Executed for the ſame Fault, of whom People had not the leaſt Jealouſie, till this Diſcovery was made. But that which ſeems the worſt of all in the Laws relating to a Married Life, is, that *Adultery* is ſcarce any where puniſh'd with *Death*; and all that can be done in that Caſe, is only *Divorce*, and ceaſing to cohabit; Which was an Ordinance introduc'd by *Juſtinian*, One whom his Wife had in perfect Subjection: And no wonder if She made uſe of that Dominion, (as ſhe really did) to get ſuch Laws enacted, as made moſt for the Advantage of her own Sex. Now this leaves Men in perpetual danger of *Adultery*, tempts them to malicious Deſires of one another's Death; the Offender that does the Injury is not made a ſufficient Example, and the Innocent Perſon that receives the Wrong, hath no Reparation made for it.

Of the Duty of Married Perſons, See Book III. Chap. 12.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of Parents and Children.

I. *Paternal Authority.*

THere are ſeveral Sorts, and ſeveral Degrees of Authority and Power among Men; ſome Publick, and others Private; but not any of them more agreeable to Nature, not any more abſolute and extenſive, than that of a *Father* over his *Children*, (I chooſe to inſtance in the Father rather than the Mother, becauſe ſhe being herſelf in a State of Subjection to her Husband, cannot ſo properly be ſaid to have her Children under her Juriſdiction.) But even this Paternal Authority hath not been at all Times, and in all Parts of the World equal and alike. In ſome Ages and Places, and indeed of Old almoſt every where, it was univerſal, and without reſtraint: The Life and Death, Eſtates and Goods, the Liberty and Honour, the Actions and Behaviour of Children was entirely at Their Will; They ſued and were ſued for them; They diſpoſed of them in Marriage; the Labours of the Children redounded to the Parents Profit; nay, They themſelves were a kind of *Commodity*; for among the *Romans* we find this Article, in that which was call'd *Romulus his Law*; * *The Right of Parents over Children ſhall be entire and unlimited; they ſhall have Power to abdicate and baniſh, to ſell, and to put them to death.* Only it is to be obſerv'd, That all Children under Three Years old, were excepted out of this Condition, becauſe they

Dion. Halicar. *lib.* 2. Antiq.

Rom. l. in Suiſ. ff. de lib. & poſth.

* Parentum in Liberos omne Jus eſto, relegandi, vendendi, occidendi.

could

could not be capable of offending in Word or Deed, nor to give any juſt Provocation for ſuch hard Uſage. This Law was afterwards confirm'd and renew'd, by the Law of the *Twelve Tables*; which allow'd Parents to ſell their Children Three times: And the *Perſians*, as *Ariſtotle* tells us, the Antient *Gauls*, as *Cæſar* and *Proſper* agree; the *Muſcovites* and *Tartars*, might do it Four times. There want not ſome probable Reaſons to perſuade us, that this Power had ſome Foundation, or Countenance at leaſt, in the *Law of Nature*; and that Inſtance of *Abraham* undertaking to ſlay his Son, hath been made uſe of, as an Argument to this purpoſe: For had This been a Thing againſt his *Duty*, and ſuch as the *Authority* of a Father could in no caſe extend to, he would not (they tell you) ever have conſented to it; nor have believed, that this Command had proceeded from God, but rather have imputed it to ſome Deluſion upon his own Mind, if it had been no way reconcilable with Nature, the Laws of which, God had eſtabliſhed in the Beginning, and could not be thought ſo to contradict Himſelf, as by any particular Order, to appoint a thing altogether inconſiſtent with his own General Inſtitution before. And accordingly it is obſervable, that *Iſaac* never went about to make any Reſiſtance, nor pleaded his own Innocency in Bar to what his Father went about to do; as knowing that he only exerted the rightful Power he had over him. What Force there is in this Argument, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. It is ſufficient for my preſent Purpoſe to obſerve, That allowing all this, yet it does not in any degree take off from the Commendation due to *Abraham*'s Faith; for he does not pretend to *Sacrifice* his Son by Vertue of any ſuch *Inherent Right* over him, nor upon any Provocation, or Miſdemeanour, which *Iſaac* had given him occaſion

Aul. Gel. *lib.* 20. Ariſtot. Ethic. *lib.* 8. Cæſar, *lib.* 6. de Bell. Gall. Proſper Aquit. in Epiſt. Sigiſm.

on to reſent or puniſh; but purely in obedience to the Command of Almighty God. The Caſe does not ſeem to differ much under the Law of *Moſes*; allowing only for ſome Circumſtances, as to the manner of exerciſing this Authority, which will be taken notice of by and by. Of This, and no leſs Extent the *Paternal Power* ſeems to have been formerly in the greateſt Part of the World, and ſo to have continu'd till the Time of the *Roman* Emperors. Among the *Greeks* indeed, and the *Ægyptians*, it does not ſeem to have been altogether ſo abſolute; but even There, if a Father happened to kill his Son unjuſtly, and without Provocation, the Puniſhment inflicted for ſuch Barbarity was no other than being ſhut up with the dead Body for Three Days together.

Diodor.

2. *The Reaſons and Effects of it.* Now the Reaſons, and the Effects of ſo great and unlimited a Power being allow'd to Fathers over their Children, (which no doubt was a great Advantage for the Advancement of Virtue, the Improvement of Manners and Education, the reſtraining, preventing, and chaſtiſing Extravagance and Vice, and of great good Conſequence to the Publick too) ſeem to have been ſuch as Theſe.

I. Firſt, The containing Children in their Duty, begetting and preſerving a due Awe and Reverence

II. in their Minds. Then a Regard to ſeveral Vices and Enormities, which, though very grievous in Themſelves, would yet paſs unpuniſh'd, to the great Prejudice of the Publick, if they could be taken cognizance of, and animadverted upon by no other Ways and Perſons, but Legal Proceſs, and the Sentence of the Magiſtrate; for abundance of Theſe muſt needs eſcape ſuch Cenſure, partly becauſe they would be Domeſtick and Private, and partly becauſe there would be no Body to inform and proſecute. The Parents Themſelves were not likely

likely to be ſo officious; the nearneſs of the Relation would render it odious, and the Intereſt of their own Family would reſtrain them from publiſhing their own Shame. Or, if they could be ſuppos'd to bring all they knew of this kind upon the open Stage, yet we know there are many Vices, and Inſolences, and Diſorders, which the Laws and Juſtice of Nations are not provided with Puniſhments for. To all which we may add, that there are many Family-Quarrels between Fathers and Children, Brothers and Siſters, upon the account of dividing Eſtates and Goods, or ſeveral other Things, which, tho' fit to be canvaſs'd and corrected within a Man's own Walls, would by no means do well to be rip'd up, and expos'd to the World; and for Theſe, as the *Paternal Authority* is neceſſary, ſo it is ſufficient to compoſe and quiet all Parties, and put an End to Differences, that concern ſingle Families only. And it was reaſonable for the Law to ſuppoſe, that no Father would make ill uſe of this Power; that Men might very ſafely be entruſted with it, becauſe of that very tender Affection which Nature inſpires all Parents with, ſuch as ſeems altogether inconſiſtent with Cruelty, toward their own Off-ſpring: And this we ſee the Effect of daily, in the frequent Interceſſions made by Fathers, for the releaſing or mitigating thoſe Publick Puniſhments, which they cannot but be ſenſible are moſt juſtly inflicted; there being no greater Torment to any Parent, than to ſee his Children under Pain or Diſgrace. And where theſe abſolute Prerogatives were allow'd, we meet with very few Inſtances of the exerting their Power, and going to the Extremity of it, without Offences very heinous indeed; ſo that, in truth, if we regard the Practice, and compare that with the Power it ſelf, we ſhall have reaſon to look upon it as a uſeful Terror, a

Bugbear to keep Children in awe, and fright them into Obedience, rather than any Stretch of Rigour, that was actual, and in good earneſt.

3. *Its Decay.* Now this Paternal Authority was gradually loſt, and fell to the Ground as it were of it ſelf, (for the Decay of it is, in truth, to be attributed to Diſuſe, more than to any Law expreſly repealing it, or enacting the contrary) and it began moſt remarkably to decline, when the *Roman* Emperors came to the Government: For from the Time of *Auguſtus*, or quickly after, it ſunk apace, and loſt all its Vigour. And upon this Decay Children grew ſo ſtubborn and inſolent againſt their Parents, that *Seneca* in his Addreſs to *Nero*, ſays, their Own Eyes had ſeen more Parricides puniſh'd in Five Years then laſt paſt, than there had been for the Space of Seven hundred Years before, that is, from the Firſt Foundation of *Rome* till that Time. Till then, if a Father at any time *killed* his Children, he was called to no Account, nor had any Puniſhment inflicted upon him for the Fact; as we may gather evidently by the Examples of *Fulvius* the Senator, who ſlew his Son for being engag'd in *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy; and ſeveral other Senators, who proceeded againſt their Sons, and condemn'd them to Death, by vertue of their own Domeſtick Power, ſuch as *Caſſius Tratius*; or ſentenc'd them to perpetual Baniſhment, as *Manlius Torquatus* did his Son *Syllanus*. There were indeed ſome Laws afterwards, which appointed, that the Father ſhould bring Informations againſt the Children that offended, and deliver them over to Publick Juſtice: And the Judge, in ſuch Caſes, was oblig'd to pronounce Sentence as the Father ſhould direct; in which there are ſome Footſteps of Antiquity. And theſe Laws, in abridging the Power of the Fathers, proceeded very tenderly, and

Lib. 1. de Clem.

Saluſt. in Bell. Catalin. Valer. Maxim.

L. inauditum ad Jeg. Corn. F. l. in ſuis de l. & poſth. l. 3. Cod. de pa. poteſt.

and did not take it away entirely and openly, but with great Moderation, and by halves only. Theſe later Ordinances have ſome Affinity to the Law of *Moſes*, which order'd the ſtubborn and rebellious Son to be ſtoned, upon the Complaint of the Parents, without requiring any farther Proof of the Charge than their ſingle Depoſition; and provided the Preſence and Concurrence of the Magiſtrate, not ſo much for Examination and Trial of the Cauſe, as to prevent the Privacy and Paſſion, which might attend Domeſtick Puniſhments, and ſo to render the thing more Publick, and the Vengeance more exemplary and full of Terror to others. And thus, even according to the *Moſaick* Inſtitution, the *Paternal Authority* was more arbitrary and extenſive, than it came to be ſince the Time of the *Roman* Emperors. But if we deſcend a little lower, and obſerve its Decreaſe under *Conſtantine the Great*, then under *Theodoſius*, and at laſt under *Juſtinian*, we ſhall find it almoſt totally extinct. Hence it came to paſs, that Children took upon them to decline, and peremptorily deny Obedience to their Parents; to refuſe them a Part in their Poſſeſſions; nay, not to allow them ſo much as convenient Maintenance and Relief in their Neceſſities. Hence they had Confidence to enter Actions againſt them, and implead them in Courts of Judicature; and an indecent, a moſt ſcandalous Thing, in truth, it is, to obſerve how frequent ſuch Suits have been. Some have been ſo wicked, or ſo miſtaken, as to excuſe Themſelves from *Duty* upon Pretence of *Religion*; and dedicate That to God, which their Parents had a Right to; as we find our Bleſſed Saviour reproaches the *Jews* for doing; and the Manner he mentions it in, ſhews plainly, that this impious kind of Devotion was a Practice cuſtomary among them before his Time. Since that ſome have acted after their

Deut. xxi.

Matt. xv.

Examples, even in the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity; and many have held it lawful to *kill* a *Father* in one's own Defence, or in caſe he became a Publick Enemy to the State. But ſure, if ſuch Relations deſerve Death, it ought to be inflicted by ſome other Hand; and heretofore it was receiv'd as a general Maxim, and admits of ſcarce any Exception, * *That no Wickedneſs could be committed by a Father, the Heinouſneſs whereof would juſtify Parricide; to kill a Father is wicked, and no Wickedneſs can be reaſonable.*

Now the Generality of the World do not ſeem duly ſenſible of how miſchievous Conſequence to Mankind, this Abatement and Abolition of the *Paternal Authority* hath prov'd. The Governments, under which it was kept up, and vigorouſly exerted, have flouriſh'd, and contain'd their Subjects in ſtrict Duty. If upon any Occaſion it had been found by Experience too ſharp and exorbitant, prudent Care might have been taken to regulate and bring it under convenient Reſtraints. But utterly to diſannul and deſtroy it, is by no means agreeable to Decency or Virtue, and leaſt of all to the Advantage of the Publick. For when once the Reins are let looſe, and Countenance is given to Diſobedience in Private Families, it quickly grows to a general Spirit of Faction, and Diſorder, and Ungovernable Inſolence; and the caſting off the Yoke of the Natural Parents, is a bold and dangerous Step toward Rebellion againſt the Civil. The Effect whereof hath been abundantly ſeen in the many Inconveniences which Governments have ſuffer'd upon the Relaxation or utter reſcinding of this Authority; whereby in the Event they only

* Nullum tantum ſcelus admitti poteſt à patre, quod parricidio ſit vindicandum; & nullum ſcelus rationem habet.

clip'd

clip'd their own Wings, and encourag'd Enemies and Inſurrections againſt Themſelves, as was ſaid juſt now.

The Reciprocal Duties of Parents and Children will be treated of Book III. Chap. 14.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of Lords and their Slaves; Maſters and Servants.

THE making uſe of *Slaves*, and the Power of *Lords* or Maſters over them, tho' it hath been a Thing receiv'd and practis'd in all Places and all Ages of the World, (excepting that it was conſiderably abated for about Four hundred Years, but now it hath ſince reviv'd and obtain'd again:) Yet I cannot forbear looking upon it as a monſtrous Cuſtom, and highly reproachful to Humane Nature. Since Brutes have nothing of this kind among Them; nor do They either compel their Fellows by Violence and Fraud, or voluntarily ſubmit themſelves to Captivity. This ſeems rather than to have been diſpens'd with, than approv'd by the Law of *Moſes*. But even this Indulgence, accommodated to the Neceſſities of that People, and the Hardneſs of their Hearts, was not ſo rigorous as the Practice of other Places; for neither was the Power ſo abſolute, nor the Slavery perpetual; but the One confin'd to Rules, and the other terminated with the Seventh or Sabbatical Year. Chriſtianity finding the Uſage univerſal, did not ſee fit to break in upon this Conſtitution, but left its Proſelytes at liberty in this Particular, as it did in a Permiſſion

1. *The Uſe of Slaves univerſal, but unnatural.*

of ſerving and dwelling under Heathen and Idolatrous Princes and Maſters. For This, and many other Things, could not be aboliſh'd and ſet aſide at once; but by giving ſome little Diſcountenance to them, Time hath worn them off gently, and by degrees.

2. *Several ſorts of Slavery.*

Slaves may be diſtinguiſh'd into Four ſeveral Kinds. 1. Such as are *Natural*, or born of Parents in that Condition. 2. Such as are *Slaves upon Force*, made ſo by Conqueſt, and the Rights of War. 3. *Adjudged Slaves*, ſuch as are made and awarded to be ſuch, either by way of Puniſhment for ſome Crime, or for the Satisfaction of ſome Debt, which gives the Creditors a Right to their Perſons, and of employing them to their own Benefit and Service. This Slavery was limited among the *Jews* only to a certain Seaſon, Seven Years at the moſt; the *Sabbatical* Year put an End to it all; but in other Countries it continu'd till the Debt was diſcharged. 4. *Voluntary Slaves*, or ſuch as are of their own making, as thoſe who throw Dice for it, or who ſell their Liberty for a Sum of Money, as it hath been the Cuſtom to do in *Germany*; and is ſtill in ſome Parts even of the Chriſtian World; or elſe ſuch as freely ſurrender up themſelves to the Service of another, and devote their Perſons to perpetual Slavery: And thus we read in the Law the Antient *Jews* did, whoſe Ears were appointed to be bored with an Awl, to the Door of the Houſe, in Token of perpetual Servitude; and that they rather choſe this Condition of Life, than to go free, when it was in their Power. This laſt ſort of voluntary and choſen Captivity is, I confeſs, to Me, the moſt aſtoniſhing of all the reſt; and tho' all manner of *Slavery* ſeems to be an Incroachment and Violence upon Nature, yet ſure no kind of it can be ſo unnatural, as that which a Man covets and brings upon Himſelf.

Tacit. de mor. Ger.

Exod. xxi. Deut. xv.

That

That Thing which makes Men *Slaves* upon *Conſtraint*, is Avarice; and that which makes Men chooſe to be *Slaves*, is *Cowardice*, and baſe Degeneracy of Spirit; for *Lords* made Men *Slaves*, becauſe, when they had them in their Power and Poſſeſſion, there was more Profit to be got by keeping, than there could be by killing them. And it is obſervable, that heretofore one of the moſt valuable ſorts of Wealth, and that which the Owners took greateſt Pride in, conſiſted in the Multitude, and the Quality of *Slaves*. In this reſpect it was that *Craſſus* grew rich above all other *Romans*; for beſides Thoſe that continually waited upon him, he had Five Hundred *Slaves* kept conſtantly at hard Work, and all the Gain of their ſeveral Arts and Labours, was daily brought, and converted to his Advantage. And this, tho' very great, was not all the Profit neither; for after that they had made a vaſt Account of their Drudgery, and kept them a great while thus in Work and Service, their very Perſons were a Marketable Commodity, and ſome farther Gain was made in the Sale of Them to other Maſters. 3. *The Cauſe of it.*

It would really amaze one, to read and conſider well the *Cruelties* that have been exercis'd upon *Slaves*; and Thoſe not only ſuch as the Tyranny of an inhumane Lord might put him upon, but ſuch as even the Publick Laws have permitted and approv'd. They us'd to Chain and Yoke them together, and ſo make them Till the Ground like Oxen; and they do ſo to this Day in *Barbary*; lodge them in Ditches, or Bogs, or Pits, and deep Caves; and when they were worn and waſted with Age and Toil, and ſo could bring in no more Gain by their Service, the poor impotent Wretches were either ſold at a low Price, or drown'd, and thrown into Ponds to feed their Lord's Fiſh. They killed them, not only for the 4. *The Cruel Uſage of Slaves.*

ſlighteſt and moſt inſignificant Offence, as the breaking of a Glaſs, or the like; but upon the leaſt Suſpicions, and moſt unaccountable Jealouſies: Nay, ſometimes merely to give Themſelves Diverſion; as *Flaminius* did, who yet was a Perſon of more than ordinary Character, and reputed a very Good Man in his Time. It is notorious, that they were forc'd to enter the Liſts, and combat and kill one another upon the Publick Theatres, for the Entertainment of the People. If the Maſter of the Houſe were murdered under his own Roof, let who would be the Doer of it, yet all the *Slaves*, tho' perfectly innocent of the Thing, were ſure to go to Pot. And accordingly we find, that when *Pedanius*, a *Roman*, was killed, notwithſtanding they had certain Intelligence of the Murderer, yet by expreſs Decree of the Senate, Four Hundred poor Wretches, that were his Slaves, were put to Death, for no other reaſon, but their being ſo.

5. Nor is it much leſs ſurprizing on the other hand, to take notice of the *Rebellions*, Inſurrections, and Barbarities of *Slaves*, when they have made Head againſt their Lords, and gotten them into their Power. And That, not only in Caſes of Treachery and Surprize; as we read of one Tragical Night in the City of *Tyre*; but ſometimes in open Field, in regular Forces, and form'd Battles, by Sea and Land; all which gave Occaſion for the uſe of that Proverb, *That a Man hath as many Enemies as he hath Slaves.*

6. *How they came to leſſen.* Now in proportion as the *Chriſtian Religion* firſt, and afterwards the *Mahometan* got ground and increas'd, the Number of *Slaves* decreas'd, and the Terms of Servitude grew more eaſie and gentle. For the *Chriſtians* firſt, and afterwards the *Mahometans*, who affected to follow the *Chriſtians* Examples, made it a conſtant Practice and Rule,

Rule, to give all thoſe Perſons their Freedom, who became Proſelytes to their Religion. And this prov'd a very great Invitation, and powerful Inducement, to convert and win Men over. Inſomuch that about the Year *Twelve Hundred*, there was ſcarce any ſuch thing as a *Slave* left in the World; except in ſuch Places only where neither of theſe Two Perſuaſions had gain'd any Footing or Credit.

7. *And the Poor to increaſe.*

But then it is very remarkable withal, that in the ſame Proportions, as the Number of *Slaves* fell away and abated, that of Poor People, and Beggars, and Vagabonds multiply'd upon us. And the Reaſon is very obvious; for Thoſe Perſons, who during the State of Slavery, wrought for their Patrons, and were maintain'd at Their Expence, when they were diſmiſt Their Families, loſt their Table, at the ſame time they receiv'd their Liberty; and when they were thus turn'd looſe into the World, to ſhift for Themſelves, it was not eaſie for them to find Means of ſupporting their Families, which, by reaſon of the great Fruitfulneſs of People in low Condition generally, were very numerous in Children; and thus they grew overſtock'd themſelves, and filled the World with Poor.

8. *Return to Servitude.*

Want and extreme Neceſſity preſently began to pinch theſe kind of People, and compelled them to return back again to Servitude in their own Defence. Thus they were content to enſlave Themſelves, to truck and barter away their Liberty, to ſet their Labours to Sale, and let out their Perſons for Hire; meerly that they might ſecure to Themſelves convenient Suſtenance, and a quiet Retreat; and lighten the Burden which the Increaſe of Children brought upon them. Beſides this preſſing Occaſion, and the Servitude choſen upon it, the World hath pretty much relapſed into the Uſing of

of *Slaves* again, by means of thoſe continual Wars which both *Chriſtians* and *Mahometans* are eternally engag'd in; both againſt each other, and againſt the *Pagans* in the Eaſt and Weſtern Countries particularly. And though the Example of the *Jews* be ſo far allow'd, as a good Precedent, that they have no *Slaves* of their own Brethren and Countrymen, yet of Strangers and Foreigners they have; and Theſe are ſtill kept in Slavery, and under Conſtraint, notwithſtanding they do come over to the Profeſſion of their Maſter's Religion.

9. The Power and Authority of common Maſters over their Servants is not at all domineering or extravagant, nor ſuch as can in any degree be prejudicial to the Natural Liberty of Them who live under it. The utmoſt they can pretend to, is the chaſtizing and correcting them when they do amiſs; and in This they are oblig'd to proceed with Diſcretion, and not ſuffer their Severities to be unreaſonable, and out of all Meaſure. But over thoſe who are hired in as Workmen and Dayſmen, this Authority is ſtill leſs; There is only a Covenant for Labour, and Wages in Exchange; but no Power, nor any Right of Correction, or Corporal Puniſhment lies againſt Theſe from their Maſters.

The Duty of Maſters and Servants is treated of Book III. Chap. 15.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

Of Publick Government, Sovereign Power, and Princes.

1. *The Nature and Neceſſity of Publick Government.*

AFter the Account already given of *Private Power*, the next Thing that falls under our onſideration, is the *Publick*, or that of the *State*. ow, the *State*, that is to ſay, *Government*, or a Determinate Order, and Eſtabliſhment, for Commandg and Obeying, is the very Pillar and Support Humane Affairs, the Cement that knits and eeps them Faſt and Strong; the Soul that gives em Life and Motion, the Band of all Society hich can never ſubſiſt without it; the Vital Spirit f this Body Politick, that enables Men, ſo many houſands of Men, to breath as One, and comacts all Nature together.

2. Now, notwithſtanding the abſolute Neceſſity nd unſpeakable Convenience This is of, for ſuaining the Univerſe, yet is it, really, a very ſlipery and unſafe thing, extremely difficult to maage, and liable to infinite Changes and Dangers. *The Governing of Men, and their Affairs, is a very hard Undertaking, a heavy Burden, and expoſed to great variety of Chances.* It often declines and languiſhes; ay, ſometimes falls to the Ground, by ſecret Miſortunes, and unſeen Cauſes. And though its riſing o a juſt Height, is Gradual and Slow, a Work of much Time, and great Pains and Prudence; yet he Ruins and Decays of it are frequently ſudden

* Arduum & ſubjectum fortunæ cuncta regendi onus.

and

and ſurprizing; and the Conſtitutions, which took up Ages to finiſh and build up, are broken and thrown down in a Moment. It is likewiſe expoſed to the Hatred and Envy of all Degrees and Conditions. The High and the low watch it curiouſly, and are jealous of all its Proceedings, and ſet Themſelves at Work perpetually, to endanger and undermine it. This Uneaſineſs, and Suſpicion, and general Enmity, *proceeds* partly from the corrupt Manners and Diſpoſitions of the Perſons in whom the *Supreme Power* is veſted, and partly from the Nature of the *Power* it ſelf, of which you may take this following Deſcription.

3. *What Sovereign Power is.*

Sovereignty, is properly a Perpetual and *Abſolute Power*, ſubject to no Limitation, either of Time, or of Terms and Conditions. It conſiſts in a Right of conſtituting and giving Laws to all in General, and to each Perſon under its Dominion in Particular; and that, without conſulting or asking the Conſent of ſuch as are to be govern'd by them; and likewiſe in being above all Reſtraints, or having Laws impoſed upon it ſelf from any other Perſon whatſoever. "For to Impoſe, and Command a Duty, argues Superiority, and That "which is *Sovereign*, can have no *Superiour*. And, as another expreſſes it. "It infers a Right Paramount "of making Reſervations and Exceptions from the "uſual Forms, (as the King in Courts of Equity corrects the Common Law:) For *Sovereignty*, in its higheſt and ſtricteſt Importance, implies the *Contrary to Subjection*, or the being bound by Humane Laws, either of others, or its own Appointment, ſo as not to repeal or alter them, as there ſhall be Occaſion. For it is contrary to Nature, for all Men to give Law to Themſelves, and to be abſolutely commanded by Themſelves, in Things that depend

depend upon their own Will. * *No Obligation can continue firm, none can lie there, where the Perſon that engages, hath nothing but his own Will to bind him:* And therefore *Sovereign Power*, properly ſo call'd, cannot have its Hands ty'd up by any other, whether Living or Dead; neither its Own, nor its Predeceſſor's Decrees, nor the received Laws of the Country can be Unalterable or Irreverſible. This *Power* hath been compared by ſome to Fire, to the Sea, to a wild Beaſt, which it is very hard to tame, or make treatable; it will not endure Contradiction, it will not be moleſted, or if it be, it is a Dangerous Enemy, a juſt and ſevere Avenger of them that have the Hardineſs to provoke it. † *Power* (ſays one) *is a Thing that ſeldom bears to be admoniſh'd or inſtructed, and is generally very impatient of Contradiction or Reproof.*

4. *Its Properties.*

The Marks and Characters, which are proper to it, and by which it is diſtinguiſh'd from other Sorts of Power, are, the giving Judgment, and pronouncing Definitive Sentences, whereby all contending Parties ſhall be concluded, and from whence there lies no Appeal. A full Authority to make Peace and War, Creating, and Depriving Magiſtrates, and Officers; granting Indulgences, and diſpenſing with the Rigour of the Laws upon particular Hardſhips, and extraordinary Emergencies; levying of Taxes; coining and adjuſting the Value of Money, ordering what ſhall be current in its Dominions, and at what Prices; Receiving of Homage and Acknowledgments from its Subjects, and Embaſſies from *Foreigners*; Requiring Oaths of Fidelity from the Perſons under its Protection, and adminiſtring them in Controverſies and Tryals of

* Nulla Obligatio conſiſtere poteſt, quæ à voluntate promittentis ſtatum capit.

† Poteſtas res eſt, quæ moneri docerique non vult, & caſtigationem ægrè fert.

Right

Right and Wrong. But all is reduc'd at laſt, and comprehended under the *Legiſlative Power*, the enacting ſuch Laws as it ſhall think fit, and by Them binding the Conſciences of Thoſe who live within its Dominions. Some indeed have added Others, which are ſo ſmall and trivial in Compariſon, that they are ſcarce worth naming after the Former; ſuch as the Admiralty, Rights of the Sea, Title to Wracks upon the Coaſt, Confiſcation of Goods in Caſes of Treaſon, Power to change the Language, the Enſigns of Government, and Title of Majeſty.

5. *Greatneſs* and *Sovereignty* is infinitely coveted by almoſt All. But wherefore is it? Surely for no other Reaſon ſo much, as that the Outſide is Gay and Glorious, Beautiful and Glittering; but the Inſide is hid from common Obſervation. Every Body ſees the Plenty, the Pomp, and the Advantages of a *Crown*, but few or none at a diſtance are acquainted with the Weight, the Cares, the Troubles, and the Dangers of it. It is True indeed, To *Command* is a Noble and a Divine Poſt; but it is as True, that it is an Anxious, a Cumberſome, and a Difficult One. Upon the ſame Account it is, that the Perſons in that Dignity and Elevation are eſteem'd and reverenc'd much above the Rate of Common Men. And very Juſt it is they ſhould be ſo, for this Opinion is of great Uſe to extort that Reſpect and Obedience from the People, upon the due Payment whereof, all the Peace and Quiet of Societies depend. But if we take these great Perſons apart from their Publick Character, and conſider them as Men, we ſhall find them juſt of the ſame Size, and caſt in the ſame Mould with other common Men; nay, too often, of worſe Diſpoſitions, and not ſo liberally dealt with by Nature, as many of their Inferiours. We are apt to think that every Thing a *Prince* does, muſt needs

needs proceed upon great and weighty Reaſons, becauſe all they do is in the Event of great and general Importance to Mankind; but in truth the Matter is much otherwiſe, and They think, and reſolve, and act, juſt like One of Us; For Nature hath given Them the ſame Faculties, and moves them by the ſame Springs. The Provocation, which would ſet Two private Neighbours to Scolding and Quarelling, makes a Publick War between Two States; and what One of Us would whip his Child or his Page for, incenſes a Monarch to chaſtiſe a Province, that hath offended him. Their *Wills* are as liable to *Levity* as Ours, but their Power and the Effect of what they will, is incomparably greater. But ſtill Nature is the ſame in the Fly, as in the Elephant, and both are actuated by the ſame Appetites and Paſſions. Nay, let me take leave to add, that, beſides thoſe Paſſions, and Defects, and Natural Qualifications, and Abatements, which they ſhare in common with the leaſt and meaneſt of their Servants and Adorers; there are ſome Vices and Inconveniences in a manner peculiar to Them alone; ſuch as the Eminence of their Condition, and the vaſt Extent of their Power inſpires them with a more than ordinary Tendency, with vehement and almoſt unavoidable Propenſions to.

6. *The Manners and Diſpoſitions of Great Perſons.*

The Manners and Temper of Great Perſons have been commonly obſerved by the Wiſeſt and moſt Diſcerning Perſons to be, *Invincible Pride*, and *Self-conceit.* * *An abounding in their own Senſe, which is Stiff, and Inflexible, incapable of Truth, and diſdaining better Advice. Licentiouſneſs* and *Violence*; † ~~which~~

* Durus & veri inſolens: Ad recta flecti regius non vult tumor.

† Id eſſe regni maximum pignus putant, ſi quicquid aliis non licet, ſolis licet.

looks

looks upon a Liberty of doing what no Body elſe may do, as the particular Diſtinction, and moſt Glorious Privilege of their Character. So that their Favourite Motto is, * *My Will is a Law. Suſpicion* and *Jealouſie*, for they are † *Naturally tender and fearful of their Power*; nay, fearful ſometimes even of their own Children and neareſt Relations; || *The next in Succeſſion is always look'd upon with an Evil and Jealous Eye, by the Perſon in preſent Poſſeſſion of the Throne; ſo that any the leaſt Genius of Government, or intereſting themſelves in Publick Affairs, is very unacceptable in the Sons of Princes*; And hence it is that they are ſo often in Fears and mighty Conſternations, for * *it is uſual and natural to Kings, to live under continual Apprehenſions.*

7. *Their Miſeries and Inconveniences.*

The Advantages, which *Kings* and *Sovereign Princes* have above Thoſe of meaner Condition, ſeem indeed to be marvellous Great, and Glorious; but when nicely conſider'd, they are in Truth but very Thin and Slight, and little more than mere Imagination. But, were they much above what really they are, it is certain they are dearly bought at the Expence of the many Weighty, Solid and Subſtantial Troubles and Inconveniences that conſtantly attend them. The Name and the Title of Sovereign, the Splendor and Formalities of a Court, and all the Pomp and Parade that draws our Eyes and Obſervation, carry a Beautiful and Deſirable Appearance, ſuch as raiſes our Wonder, and kindles our Wiſhes and Deſires; but the Burden and the Inſide of all this Shining Pageantry, is Hard and Knotty, Laborious and Painful. There is *Honour* in Abundance, but very little

* Quicquid libet, licet.

† Suapte Naturâ Potentiæ anxii.

|| Suſpectus ſemper inviſuſq; dominantibus quiſquis proximus deſtinatur, adeo ut deſpliceant etiam civilia Filiorum ingenia.

* Ingenia Regum prona ad formidinem.

Joy

Joy or Eaſe; It is a Publick and an Honourable Servitude, an Illuſtrious Miſery, a Wealthy Captivity. The Chains are of Gold, but ſtill they are Chains. And it is worth our While to obſerve the Behaviour and the Reflections of *Auguſtus*, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Pertinax*, *Diocleſian*, upon this Occaſion; and the wretched End of moſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*, and many Others of their Succeſſors in the Empire. But, now in regard theſe ſeem Words of Courſe only, ſuch as very few will give any Credit to, becauſe they ſuffer Themſelves to be impoſed upon by a gay and deceitful Face of Power, I ſhall think it worth while to clear this Matter, by giving a diſtinct and particular Account of ſome Inconveniences and Miſeries, with which the Condition of *Sovereign Princes* is conſtantly incumbred.

8. *In the Diſcharge of their Office*

Firſt, The mighty Difficulty of acting their Part well, and acquitting Themſelves of ſo weighty a Charge. For if it be ſo very hard a Thing, as we find by ſad Experience it is, to govern ones ſelf well, what infinite Hardſhip muſt we in reaſon ſuppoſe there is, in governing a Multitude of People? It is certainly much more Eaſie and Pleaſant to follow, than to lead; to have no more to do, than only to keep a plain beaten Road, than to beat out a Path for Others; to obey, than to direct and command; to anſwer for one's ſingle ſelf, than to be reſponſible for ones ſelf and a great many more beſides.

* *And thus 'tis better than proud Scepters ſway,*
To live a quiet Subject, and obey. Creech.

To all This we may add, That it is highly Neceſſary for the Perſon, whoſe Duty it is to Command, to be more Excellent and Exemplary, than Them who are commanded by him; as that

* Ut ſatius multo jam ſit parere quietum
Quam regere imperio res velle—— *Lucret.* lib. V.

Great Commander *Cyrus*, very truly obſerved. And this Difficulty we cannot be better made ſenſible of, by any Argument, than Matter of Fact; which proves to us Experimentally, how very few Perſons, Hiſtory makes mention of in this Character, who have in all Points been, what they ought to be. *Tacitus* ſays, that of all the *Roman* Emperors till that Time, *Veſpaſian* was the only true good Man; and another antient Author hath taken the Confidence to affirm, that the Names of all the *good Princes* that ever were, might be engraven within the *Compaſs of a Ring*.

9. *In their Pleaſures and Actions of their Life.*

The Second Difficulty may be fixed very reaſonably upon their Pleaſures and Delights, of which Men uſually think, (but they think very much amiſs) that They have a greater Share, and more perfect Enjoyment, than the reſt of Mankind. For in truth their Condition, in this Reſpect, is infinitely Worſe than that of Private Men. The Luſtre and Eminence of great Perſons gives them great Inconvenience in the Fruition, of what it furniſhes them with Power and Opportunities for. They are too much expoſed to Publick View, move openly and in check, and are perpetually watch'd, controul'd, and cenſur'd, even to their very Thoughts, which the World will always take a Liberty of gueſſing at, and cenſuring, tho' they are no competent Judges, nor can poſſibly have any Knowledge of the Matter. Beſides this Reſtraint, there is likewiſe ſome Diſadvantage in the very Eaſineſs they feel of doing whatever their Inclination leads them to, and every Thing bending, and yielding to their Pleaſure; for This takes away all that Reliſh and pleaſing Sharpneſs, which is neceſſary to render a Thing Delightful; and Nothing is, or can be ſo to us, which hath no Mixture or Difficulty to recommend and heighten it. A Man that never gives himſelf time to be Dry, will never

never be ſenſible what Pleaſure there is in quenching one's Thirſt; and all Drinking will be flat and inſipid to him. Fulneſs and Plenty is one of the moſt troubleſome Things in the World, and, inſtead of helping forward, does but provoke us to nauſeate our Happineſs.

* *Groſs eaſie Love does like groſs Diet, pall;*
In ſqueaſie Stomachs Honey turns to Gall. Dryden.

The greateſt Interruption to our Enjoyments, and the moſt diſtaſteful Thing that can happen to us, is *Abundance:* To be cloy'd is to loſe All. And therefore we may ſay, that Princes are not capable of ſuch a thing as Action; for this cannot be lively and vigorous without ſome Degree of Difficulty and Reſiſtance: Other Men may be ſaid to live, and move, and act, who meet with Obſtruction and Oppoſition; but They who meet with none, may more truly be ſaid to dream, or walk in their Sleep, or to glide along inſenſibly thro' the whole Courſe of their Lives.

The Third Particular, in which they find Themſelves aggrieved above others, is in their *Marriage.* The Matches made by Perſons of inferiour Quality are infinitely more free and eaſie; the effect of Choice, the reſult of Affection, more void of Conſtraint, and full of Satisfaction. One great Reaſon, no doubt, of this Difference is, that Common Men have greater Choice, and may find great Variety and Numbers equal with Themſelves, to take a Wife out of; but Kings and Princes are but few; and therefore if They reſolve to marry ſuitably to Themſelves, there can be no great picking 10. *In their Marriage.*

* Pinguis amor nimiumque potens in tædia nobis
Vertitur, & Stomacho dulcis ut eſca nocet.
Ovid. Amor. L. 2. Eleg. 19.

and chooſing in the Caſe. But the other Reaſon is, and indeed the more conſiderable of the Two, That private Perſons have nothing farther to aim at beyond their own particular Concerns; They conſult their own Comfort and Convenience; but Princes are often confin'd and ty'd up by publick Conſiderations. Their Marriages are vaſt Intrigues of State, and deſign'd to be inſtrumental in ſecuring the Happineſs and Peace of the World in general. Great Perſons do not Marry for Themſelves, but for the common Good of Nations and Kingdoms. And this is what they ought to be more in love with, and tender of, than of their Wife and Children. Upon this Account they are frequently obliged to hearken to Propoſals where there is neither Affection nor Delight to invite them; they often engage themſelves to Perſons, whom they are ſo far from being taken with, that ſometimes they never know nor ſee them, till it is out of their Power to retreat. There is no ſuch thing as *Love* or *Liking* between the Parties; but the ſhort of the Matter is, Such a great *Prince* marries ſuch a great *Princeſs*, which, if he had been in another Capacity, he would never have choſen or conſented to. But the Publick was concern'd, and is ſerved by it; and he is content to enſlave Himſelf for his whole Life, becauſe that Alliance was neceſſary to be contracted, for the ſtrengthening his Intereſt, and the ſecurity of his Kingdoms; and the mutual Benefit and Eaſe which Nations may receive by ſuch a convenient Union.

11. I may reckon this for a Fourth Diſadvantage, that They can have no part in thoſe Tryals and little Emulations, which other Men are continually exerciſed in towards one another, by the Jealouſie they expreſs of their Honour, or ſignalizing their Valour, their Wit, or their Bodily Strength; which after all, is one of the moſt ſenſible Pleaſures Men enjoy

enjoy in Converſation with one another. The Reaſon is obvious; becauſe every Man thinks himſelf bound in good Manners to yield to Them, to ſave a Decency, and not ſuffer them to be outdone; and had rather balk their Own Honour, and abate of what they could do upon theſe Occaſions, than give Offence to a Prince, whom they know Ambitious of being thought the Conqueror of all that contend with him. Now the Bottom and Truth of all this Matter is, that upon pretence of Deference and Reſpect, ſuch Great Men are abus'd, and treated with great Scorn, and ſecret Contempt; which gave occaſion to a wiſe Man to ſay, that the Children of Princes were in a very ill way of Education, for they learnt nothing as they ſhould do, except the Art of Riding a Manag'd Horſe; becauſe in all other Caſes Men yield, and adjudge the Prize to them; But this Beaſt, who is not capable of Flattery, nor hath learnt the Arts of Courtſhip and Complaiſance, makes no difference between the Prince and his Groom, and throws either of them without diſtinction. Several great Men have therefore refuſed the Applauſes of Spectators, and ſcorn'd their formal Commendations, ſaying, *I ſhould take this kindly, and be proud of it, if it came from Perſons that durſt ſay otherwiſe, and who would take that generous Freedom of finding Fault with Me, when I gave them a juſt occaſion of doing ſo.*

The Fifth Inconvenience is, Their being debarr'd the Liberty of going Abroad, and the mighty Advantages of ſeeing the World. For they are perfectly *Impriſon'd* within their own Country, and generally cooped up within the Precincts of their Court; and there they are hedg'd in, as it were, with their own Creatures; expos'd to the View of Spectators, and the Cenſure of Impertinent Tattlers and Buſie-bodies, that watch and dog them every where, even in their moſt ſerious Actions. 12. *Incapacity of Travelling.*

Which made King *Alphonſo* ſay, that in this Reſpect *the very Aſſes had more Liberty, and were in a better Condition, than Kings.*

13. *As alſo of mutual and cordial Friendſhip.* The Sixth Topick of their Miſeries is, the being ſhut out from all *ſincere Friendſhip*, and mutual Society, which is the very ſweeteſt and moſt valuable Advantage of Humane Life; but ſuch a one as can never be enjoy'd, except among Equals, or ſuch at leaſt between whom there is no very great Inequality. Now the Elevation of a Prince is ſo high, and the Diſtance at which his Subjects ſtand below him ſo very great, that it makes any intimate, and free Correſpondence impracticable. All the Services, and Compliments, and humble Formalities paid them, come from ſuch Hands as muſt do what they do, and dare not do otherwiſe. They are by no means the effect of Friendſhip, but of ſervile Submiſſion, and Intereſt, and Deſign. All their zealous Profeſſions are not for His ſake, but their Own; to ingratiate and to raiſe Themſelves; or elſe they are a Matter of Cuſtom and Shew only. Which we ſee plainly they often are, from the vileſt and moſt wicked Kings being ſerv'd, and reverenc'd, and addreſt to, in the very ſame manner with the beſt, and moſt truly deſerving thoſe Honours; and even Them whom the People hate and curſe, with Thoſe whom they cordially love and adore. But ſtill, whether a *Prince* be the One or the Other of theſe, no Body can make any Conjecture at all from outward Forms and Appearances; The Pomp, the Ceremony, the Compliment, and the whole Face and Behaviour of a Court, is always alike: Which *Julian* the Emperour was ſo ſenſible of, that when ſome of his Courtiers commended his *Juſtice*, he made Anſwer, "That he indeed ſhould have ſome Temptation "to grow proud upon their Praiſes, but that he "conſider'd whom they came from; and they "who

" who gave him good Words then, durſt not take " upon them to Chide him when he happen'd to " deſerve it.

The Seventh Particular, in which they exceed the Miſeries of common Men; and That which perhaps is of all others the worſt in it ſelf, and moſt deſtructive to the publick Safety, is, That they are not at liberty to uſe their own Diſcretion in the choice of Servants and Officers of Honour and Truſt; nor have Opportunities of attaining to a true and perfect Knowledge of Things. They are never ſuffer'd to know All; nor are they ever throughly acquainted what Condition their Affairs are really in; ſome better Face put upon the good part, and ſome part conceal'd or colour'd over, which is unfortunate or ill-manag'd, and would be unacceptable, if rightly repreſented. As little are they let in to the true Characters of Men, and conſequently, who are fit to be employ'd and truſted. And what can be more miſerable than ſuch a State of Ignorance as This; when They, whoſe Concern it is to know beſt, are far from underſtanding truly, either what is to be done, or who are moſt proper to do it? Alas! they are encompaſſed, and blockaded up, as it were, by People of the firſt Quality, whom there is no getting looſe from: Either ſuch as are their own Relations, or who, upon the Account of their Families, and Honours, and Places, or by long Cuſtom and Preſcription, are ſo fix'd in Authority, and have ſo great a Concern in the Management of Affairs, that it is not adviſable or ſafe to give them Diſguſt. They muſt be careſs'd, and preferr'd, and have no ground of Jealouſie or Diſcontent given them: If Offices of the higheſt Conſequence are to be diſpos'd of, Theſe Perſons muſt not be overlook'd; if, when they are thus employ'd, they prove incapable or unfit, the Retreat is difficult; All the

14. *Being kept in Ignorance.*

Nobility of their Alliance reſent their Slight, or their Diſgrace; and the mending an Improper Choice, or the making a Proper One, is ſometimes in hazard of bringing All into Confuſion. Now theſe Perſons, who make it their Buſineſs to keep their Prince conſtantly muffled up, and never let him ſee the World, take good care that nothing ſhall appear to him as it really is; and that all ſuch as are truly better and more uſeful Men than Themſelves, ſhall never gain free Acceſs to him, nor have their Abilities known. O! 'tis a wretched thing *to ſee* nothing but *with other Peoples Eyes*; and *to hear* nothing but *with other Mens Ears*; as *Princes*, whoſe Eminence will not admit of Freedom, and Plain-dealing, and promiſcuous Converſation, are under a neceſſity of doing. But that which makes the Miſery complete, and the very worſt that can be, is, that, commonly ſpeaking, Princes and Great Perſons are by a ſtrange ſort of Fatality, deſtin'd to, and in the poſſeſſion of Three ſorts of Men, who are the very Bane and Peſt of Mankind, (*viz.*) *Flatterers*, *Projectors for raiſing Money*, and *Informers*. And theſe under a ſpecious, but counterfeit Pretence, either of Zeal and Affection for their Prince, (as the Two former do) or of Integrity, and Virtue, and Reformation, (as the laſt) inſtead of improving or amending either, utterly deprave and ruine both *Prince* and *People*.

15. The Eighth Miſery is, That they are leſs *Maſters of their own Wills*, than any other Perſons. For in all their Proceedings, there are infinite Conſiderations and Reſpects, which they are bound to obſerve, and theſe captivate and conſtrain their Deſigns, and Inclinations, and Deſires. * *The greater*

* In maximâ fortunâ minima licentia.

any

any Man's Station and Capacity is, the leſs he is at his own Diſpoſal. This one would think ſhould prevail for fair Quarter at leaſt, and favourable Allowances for what they do; but inſtead of being pitied or lamented for this Hardſhip, they are the moſt barbarouſly treated, the moſt ſeverely cenſured, and traduced, of any Men living. For every bold Fellow ſets up for a Politician, and undertakes to gueſs at their Meanings, to penetrate *into their very Hearts and Thoughts.* * *To pry too curiouſly into the ſecret Intentions of a Prince, is unlawful*; or, if it were not, yet it is but doubtful, and a Gueſs at beſt, what we cannot compaſs, and therefore ought not to attempt. The *Cabinets of Princes are Sacred*, and their Breaſts ought to be much more ſo. Theſe buſie Men cannot diſcern them, and yet they are eternally arraigning and ſentencing; They have a quite different Proſpect of Things; and ſee them under another Face, from what they appear to Thoſe at the Helm; or if they ſaw them both alike, yet both are not equally capable of underſtanding the Intricacies of them. Intrigues of State are Things above a Vulgar Capacity; but notwithſtanding, every Man expects his Prince ſhould do what He thinks moſt convenient, and blames his Conduct if he do otherwiſe; there is no Favour, no Patience to be obtained for any thing contrary to each Man's private Sentiments, tho' it be in it ſelf never ſo fit, never ſo neceſſary, never ſo impoſſible to have been managed otherwiſe. In a Word, every Shop, every Coffee-houſe ſits in Judgment upon their Governours; and without hearing or knowing the Merits of the Cauſe, proceed to ſevere and ſawcy Condemnations of Them.

* Abditos Principis ſenſus, & ſi quid occultius parat exquirere, illicitum, anceps, nec ideo aſſequare.

Laſtly,

16. *Their miſerable End.* Laſtly, It happens very often, that *Princes* come to a very untimely and unfortunate End; not only ſuch of Them as by Uſurpation and Tyranny provoke Men to bring it upon them, for this is not much to be wonder'd at, and ſuch have no more than their Due; but, (which is a miſerable Caſe indeed) Thoſe who are moſt Rightful in their Title, and moſt regular, and juſt, and gentle in the Adminiſtration of their Government. How frequent Inſtances of this kind does the *Roman* Hiſtory preſent us with, in thoſe Emperors that follow'd after the Civil Wars of *Pompey* and *Cæſar?* And not to go ſo far back, we know that *Henry* III. of *France*, was Aſſaſſinated by a little inſignificant Frier in the midſt of an Army of Forty Thouſand Men; and infinite other Examples of Poyſonings, Murders, and villanous Conſpiracies are to be found in all Ages.

* *Kings poſt down to the Shades in Blood; few ſtay*
For Common Deaths, and Nature's ſlow decay.

A Man would be almoſt tempted to imagine, that as Storms and Tempeſts, ſeem to wreek their Spight moſt upon the towering Pride of the loftieſt Buildings, ſo there are ſome malicious Spirits, that envy, and make it their Buſineſs to humble and ruine, and trample down the Majeſty and Greatneſs of Thoſe, who ſtand moſt exalted here below.

† *And hence we fancy unſeen Powers in Things*
Whoſe Force and Will ſuch ſtrange Confuſion brings,
And ſpurns and overthrows our greateſt Kings. Creech

* Ad generum Cereris ſine cæde & ſanguine pauci
Deſcendunt Reges, & ſiccâ morte Tyranni.

† Uſque adeo res humanas vis abdita quædam
Obterit, & pulchros faſces, ſævaſque ſecures
Proculcare, ac ludibrio ſibi haberi videtur. *Lucret. Lib. 5.*

To

To ſumm up all in a Word. The Condition of *Sovereign Princes* is above all Others incumbred with Difficulties, and expoſed to Dangers. Their Life, provided it be Innocent and Virtuous, is infinitely laborious, and full of Cares; If it be Wicked, it is then the Plague and Scourge of the World; hated and curſed by all Mankind; and whether it be the One or the Other, it is beſet with inexpreſſible Hazards; for the greater any Governour is, the leſs he can be ſecure; the leſs he can truſt to Himſelf; and yet the more need he hath to be ſecure, and not to truſt Others, but Himſelf. And this may ſatisfie us, how it comes to paſs, that the being betray'd and abus'd, is a thing very natural and eaſie to happen, a common, and almoſt inſeparable Conſequence of Government and Sovereign Power. 17.

Of the Duty of Princes, ſee Book III. Chap. 16.

CHAP. L.

Of Magiſtrates.

THere are great Differences, and ſeveral *Degrees of Magiſtrates*, with regard both to the Honour, and the Power that belongs to them: For Theſe are the two conſiderable Points to be obſerv'd in diſtinguiſhing them, and they are entirely independent upon one another; They may be, and often are each of them ſingle and alone. Sometimes Thoſe Perſons who are in the moſt honourable Poſts, have yet no great Matter of Authority or Power lodg'd in their Hands; as the King's Coun- 1.

Council, Privy-Counſellors in ſome Governments, and Secretaries of State: Some have but One of theſe two Qualifications; others have Both; and all have them in different Degrees; but thoſe are properly, and in ſtrict ſpeaking, *Magiſtrates*, in whom both Honour and Power meet together.

2. *Magiſtrates* are in a middle Station, and ſtand between the Prince and private Men; ſubordinate to the One, but ſuperiour to the Other; They carry Juſtice home, and hand it down from above; but of this they being only the Miniſters and Inſtruments, can have no manner of Power inherent in Themſelves, when the Prince Himſelf, who is the Fountain of Law and Juſtice, is preſent. As Rivers loſe their Name and their Force, when they have emptied and incorporated their Waters into the Sea, and as Stars diſappear at the Approach of the Sun; ſo all the Authority of *Magiſtrates* in the Preſence of the Sovereign, whoſe Deputies and Vicegerents They are, is either totally ſuſpended, or upon ſufferance only. And the Caſe is the ſame if we deſcend a little lower, and compare the Commiſſions of Subalterns, and inferiour Officers, with Thoſe in a higher and more general Juriſdiction. Thoſe that are in the ſame Commiſſion are all upon the Level; there is no Power or Superiority There over one another; all that they can do, is to conſult together, and be aſſiſting to each other by concurrence; or elſe to obſtruct and reſtrain each other, by oppoſing what is doing, and preventing its being done.

3. All *Magiſtrates* judge, condemn, and command, either according to the Form and expreſs Letter of the Law; (and then the Deciſions they give, and the Sentences they pronounce, are nothing elſe but a putting the Law in execution) or elſe they proceed upon Rules of Equity, and reaſonable Conſideration, (and then this is call'd the *Duty of the Magiſtrate.*)

Magi-

Magiſtrates cannot alter their own Decrees, nor correct the Judgment they have given, without expreſs Permiſſion of the Sovereign, upon Penalty of being adjudged Falſifiers of the Publick Records. They may indeed revoke their own Orders, or they may ſuſpend the Execution of them for ſome time, as they ſhall ſee Occaſion. But when once a Cauſe is brought to an Iſſue, and Sentence given upon a full and fair Hearing, they have no Power to retract that Judgment, nor to mend or try it over again, without freſh Matter require it.

Of the Duty of Magiſtrates. *See* Book III. Chap. 17.

CHAP. LI.

Lawgivers and Teachers.

IT is a Practice very uſual with ſome Philoſophers and Teachers, to preſcribe ſuch *Laws* and *Rules*, as are above the Proportions of Virtue, and what the Condition of Humane Nature will ſuffer very few, if any at all, to come up to. They draw the Images much bigger and more beautiful than the Life; or elſe ſet us ſuch Patterns of Difficult and Auſtere Virtue, as are impoſſible for us to equal, and ſo diſcourage many; and render the Attempt it ſelf Dangerous, and of ill Conſequence to ſome. Theſe are merely the Painter's Fancy, like *Plato*'s Republick, Sir *Thomas More*'s *Utopia*, *Cicero*'s Orator, or *Horace* his Poet. Noble Characters indeed, and a Collection of acknowledged Excellencies in Speculation; but ſuch as the World wants living Inſtances of. The Beſt and moſt perfect Law-giver, who in marvelous Condeſcenſion

ſcenſion was pleaſed himſelf to be ſenſible of our Infirmities, hath ſhewed great Tenderneſs and Compaſſion for them, and wiſely conſider'd what Humane Nature would bear. He hath ſuited all Things ſo well to the Capacities of Mankind, that thoſe Words of His are True, even in this Reſpect alſo, *My Yoke is eaſie, and my Burden is light.*

Now, where theſe Powers are not duly conſulted, the *Laws* are firſt of all Unjuſt; for ſome Proportion ought to be obſerv'd between the Command, and the Obedience; the Duty impoſed, and the Ability to diſcharge it. I do not ſay, Theſe Commands ſhould not exceed what is uſually done, but what is poſſible to be done; for what Vanity and Folly is it to oblige People to be always in a Fault, and to cut out more Work, than can ever be finiſhed? Accordingly we may frequently obſerve, that theſe rigid Stretchers of Laws, are the Firſt that expoſe them to publick Scorn, by their own Neglect; and, like the *Phariſees* of old, lay heavy Burdens upon others, which they themſelves will not ſo much as touch with one of their Fingers. Theſe Examples are but too obvious in all Profeſſions; This is the Way of the World. Men direct one Thing, and practiſe another; and That, not always through Defect or Corruption of Manners, but ſometimes even out of Judgment and Principle too.

Another Fault too frequent is, That many Perſons are exceeding Scrupulous and Nice in Matters which are merely Circumſtantial, or free and indifferent in their own Nature; even above what they expreſs themſelves in ſome of the moſt neceſſary and ſubſtantial Branches of their Duty, ſuch as the Laws of God, or the Light of Nature have bound upon them. This is much ſuch another Extravagance, as lending to other People, while

while we neglect to pay our own Debts. A *Phariſaical Oſtentation*, which our Heavenly Maſter ſo ſeverely expoſes the Jewiſh Elders for, and is at the Bottom no better than *Hypocriſie*; a mocking of God, and miſerable deluding of their own ſouls.

Seneca indeed hath ſaid ſomething concerning the Impracticableneſs of ſome Duties, which, if rightly obſerv'd, is of good Uſe; but then it muſt not be over-ſtrain'd, nor applied to all Occaſions indifferently. * *When ever* (ſays he) *you have Reaſon to diſtruſt the due performance of the Precepts or Laws you eſtabliſh, it is neceſſary to require ſomething more than will juſt ſerve the Turn, to the intent, That which is ſufficient may be ſure not to be neglected. For all Hyperboles and Exceſſes of this kind are uſeful to this purpoſe, that Men, by having ſomething expreſſed which is not true, may be brought to juſt Ideas of that which is true.*

With this Quotation our Author ends his Chapter in the older Edition, which I thought convenient to add here; and not only ſo, but in regard I am ſenſible, what perverſe Uſe Licentious Men may make of the former Objection to the Prejudice of Religion, and in particular Vindication of their own Neglects and Vicious Lives; and alſo what Occaſions of Scruple and Diſquiet it may miniſter to ſome well-meaning Perſons, when they compare their own Defects with the Perfection of the Divine Laws; I beg the Reader's Leave to inſert at large what a Learned and Excellent Writer of our own hath delivered to this purpoſe.

---

* Quoties parum fiduciæ eſt, in his, in quibus imperas, amplius exigendum eſt quam ſatis eſt, ut præſtetur quantum ſatis eſt. In hoc omnis Hyperbole excedit, ut ad Verum Mendacio veniat.

And

And this I hope, if well conſider'd, may both confute the Licentious, and quiet the Doubting and Diſſatisfied in the Point before us.

Dr. Barrow, Vol. I. Serm. XXVI.

" Laws (ſays he) muſt not be depreſſed to our " Imperfection, nor Rules bent to our Obliquity; " but we muſt aſcend towards the Perfection of " Them, and ſtrive to conform our Practice to " Their Exactneſs. If what is preſcribed, be ac- " cording to the Reaſon of Things, Juſt and Fit, " it is enough, although our Practice will not reach " it. For what remaineth may be ſupply'd by " Repentance, and Humility, in him that ſhould " obey; by Mercy and Pardon in him that doth " command.

" In the Preſcription of Duty it is juſt, that " what may be required (even in Rigour) ſhould " be preciſely determined; though in Execution " of Juſtice, or Diſpenſation of Recompence, " Conſideration may be had of our Weakneſs: " Whereby both the Authority of our Gover- " nour, may be maintain'd, and his Clemency " glorify'd.

" It is of great Uſe, that by comparing the " Law with our Practice, and in the Perfection " of the One, diſcerning the Defect of the Other; " we may be humbled, may be ſenſible of our " Impotency, may thence be forced to ſeek the " Helps of Grace, and the Benefit of Mercy.

" Were the Rule never ſo low, our Practice " would come below it; it is therefore expedient " that it ſhould be high; that at leaſt we may " riſe higher in Performance than otherwiſe we " ſhould do. For the higher we aim, the nearer " we ſhall go to the due Pitch; as He that aimeth " at Heaven, although he cannot reach it, will " yet ſhoot higher, than He that aimeth only at " the Houſe Top.

" The

"The Height of Duty doth prevent Sloth and
" Decay in Virtue, keeping us in wholſome Exer-
" ciſe, and in continual Improvement, while we
" are always climbing towards the Top, and ſtrain-
" ing unto farther Attainment. The ſincere Pro-
" ſecution of which Courſe, as it will be more
" Profitable to Us, ſo it will be no leſs Accepta-
" ble to God, than if we could thoroughly ful-
" fil the Law; For in Judgment God will only
" reckon upon the Sincerity and Earneſtneſs of our
" Endeavour; ſo that if we have done our Beſt,
" it will be taken, as if we had done All. *Our*
" *Labour will not be loſt in the Lord*; for the De-
" grees of performance will be conſidered, and he
" that hath done his Duty in part, ſhall be pro-
" portionably recompenſed; according to that of
" St. *Paul*, *Every Man ſhall receive his own reward*
" *according to his own Work.* Hence ſometimes we
" are enjoyned to be *perfect as our Heavenly Father*
" *is perfect*; and to *be Holy as God is Holy*; other-
" while to *go on to Perfection*, and *to preſs toward*
" *the Mark*; which Precepts, in Effect do import
" the ſame Thing; but the latter implieth the
" former, although in Attainment impoſſible, yet
" in Attempt very profitable. And ſurely he is
" likely to write beſt, who propoſeth to himſelf
" the faireſt Copy for his Imitation.

" In fine, if we do act what is poſſible, or as
" we can, do conform to the Rule of Duty, we
" may be ſure, that no Impoſſibility of *any Sublime*
" *Law* can prejudice us.

" I ſay of *any Law*, for—many, perhaps every
" one *Evangelical Law* are alike repugnant to cor-
" rupt Nature, and ſeem to ſurmount our Ability.

Thus far that Reverend Perſon, whoſe Argument I know not whether I ought to ask pardon for repreſenting ſo largely; but I was willing to

give it entire, for the greater Satisfaction of Them who think themſelves concern'd to conſider it: And likewiſe, that it might be of more Uſe, when apply'd, (as very appliable it is) to other *Laws* and Precepts, wherein *Religion* is not immediately concerned. In ſhort, a *Law-Giver* and a *Judge* are two very different Characters, and ſuch as require very different Methods, and Principles; for it is one Thing to Eſtabliſh, and another to Execute the Law. And the want of obſerving this Diſtinction occaſions all the Complaints and Declamatory Strains we hear, againſt *Moral* and *Revealed Religion*, as if they impoſed Things merely Romantick, and Imaginary. To all which I add too, that though we none of us can attain to Perfection, yet moſt of us might go much greater Lengths towards it, than we do. And that This is often made an unneceſſary Pretence, a Cloak to our Folly, or Sloth, or indulged Vices; which, when they have all of them been wilful and affected, we palliate and excuſe, by taking Sanctuary very improperly, in the Infirmities of Humane Nature, the Imperfections and Failings of the beſt Men, and the Impoſſibility and Impracticableneſs of the Duties impoſed upon us.

CHAP.

CHAP. LII.

Of the Common People.

BY the *Common People*, here, we are not to underſtand all that have no Part in the Government, and whoſe only Buſineſs is to Obey; but I mean the Rout and vulgar Croud, the Dregs and Rubbiſh of the Common-Wealth; Men of a Mean, Slaviſh, and Mechanical Spirit and Condition, let them cover, or call, or ſet Themſelves off how they will. Now, This is a *many-headed Monſter*; ſuch as cannot be deſcribed in a little Compaſs; Inconſtant and Changeable, Reſtleſs and Rolling, like the Waves of the Sea; They are ruffled and calmed, They approve and diſapprove the ſelf-ſame Thing, in a Moment of Time: Nothing in the World can be more eaſie, than to manage and turn this Bawble which Way and into what Form you pleaſe; they Laugh or Cry, are Angry or Pleas'd, or in any other Paſſion, juſt as one would have them; They love not War for the Sake of its End, nor Peace for the Sake of the Quiet it brings, but they are fond both of the One and the Other; becauſe each is New, and always makes ſome Change. Confuſion puts them upon deſiring Order; and when they are compoſed, they hate Order and Regularity then, as much as they did Confuſion before. They are perpetually running from one Extreme to another; fond of Contraries; all Seaſons and Times are loſt to them, except what is not; for

they feed only upon the Future. † *Theſe* (ſays one) *are the Qualities, This the conſtant Cuſtom and Practice of the Common People, to hate and decry the Preſent, to be eager and deſirous of the Future; extravagantly to commend and extol Things and Times that are paſt.*

2. They are credulous and buſie, apt to entertain and pick up all manner of *News*, but eſpecially ſuch as is ill and diſaſterous; and whatever they hear reported, they take it for granted muſt needs be true; Let a Man but come provided with ſome freſh Story, and give it out that it is ſo, and he ſhall whiſtle them together as thick as Swarms of Bees at the tinkling of a Braſs Pan.

3. They are Injudicious, Unreaſonable, Indiſcreet; All their Wiſdom and Judgment is perfect Chance, Croſs or Pile, Even or Odd; They ſpeak their Mind, and determine with great Poſitiveneſs and Fierceneſs; and are always ſtiff and peremptory in it. And all this while it is not any Opinion of their own, but that of other People; for they take all upon Truſt, follow the Vogue and common Cry, are born away by Cuſtom and Numbers, and run like Sheep; becauſe they are led, and others have gone before them; not becauſe the Thought is reaſonable, or the Thing true in it ſelf. * *There is no ſuch thing as Judgment or Truth to be met with among the Vulgar; for they diſcern nothing. They are perſuaded frequently by common Opinion, but very ſeldom by the Truth of the Thing.*

Tacit.

Cic.

4. They are envious and malicious, Enemies to good Men, Deſpiſers of Virtue; They look upon

† Hi vulgi mores odiſſe, præſentia, ventura cupere. præterita celebrare

* Plebi non Judicium, non Veritas. Ex Opinione multa, ex Veritate pauca judicat.

the

the Wealth and Proſperity, the Succeſſes and Advancements of others, with a jealous and an evil Eye. They always take the weakeſt and the worſt Side; give countenance to Knaves, and hate Perſons of Honour and Quality, without knowing any manner of Reaſon for it, except that One, that they are higher and better than Themſelves, more eſteem'd, and well ſpoken of.

They are treacherous, falſe, and diſloyal; they magnifie every Report, enlarge and aggravate what is true, and make every thing Ten times more and greater than it really is: You never know where nor when to have them: The Promiſe or Fidelity of the Mobb, is like the Thought of a Child, born and gone in an Inſtant; They change, not only as their Intereſt changes, but are blown and carry'd about to every Quarter, with the next Blaſt of idle Report, or vain Surmiſe; and every Hour of the Day makes a new Alteration in their Opinions and Affections. 5.

They are eternally † *diſpoſed to Mutiny and Faction, Troubleſom, and fond of Change; mortal Enemies to Peace, and Order, and Concord;* but eſpecially, when they get any Body to Head or Lead them on, for then they are inſolent and inſupportable. Like the Sea, which is ſmooth and calm by Nature, but when put into Agitation by the Winds, it ſwells, and curls, and foams, and roars; juſt ſo the Madneſs of the People is blown up, and bears down all with the impetuous Torrent. And again, Take off their Ring-leaders, and they fall flat before you, are all in Diſorder and Confuſion, and quite dead with Fear, and Terrour, and Aſtoniſhment; 6. Saluſt.

† Ingenio mobili, ſeditioſum, diſcordioſum, cupidum rerum novarum, quieti & otio adverſum.

Tacit. * *Inconſiderate and Fearful, Cowardly and Diſpirited.*

7. They countenance and ſupport buſie troubleſome Fellows, and admire thoſe moſt who are ever blaming, and diſturbing the Adminiſtration of Affairs. Modeſty paſſes with Them for Cowardice, and prudent Caution for Stupidity and Heavineſs. On the contrary, Fierceneſs and blind Fury is commended and ador'd, under the ſpecious, but falſe Titles of Courage and Bravery. Thoſe that have hot Heads, and itching Hands, are preferr'd by Them infinitely before Men of ſound Judgment, that weigh things nicely, and never proceed but upon mature Deliberations. And flaſhy prating Coxcombs take more with them, than plain, reſerved Perſons, of ſolid and ſober Senſe.

8. They have no regard at all for the publick Good, nor for Virtue or Decency, but all their Thoughts center in private and Perſonal Advantage; they look no higher nor farther than Themſelves, and take up unaccountable Piques at Thoſe that oppoſe their Profit. All their Diligence is mercenary, all their Zeal is ſordid; nothing is ſo vile, but Tacit. Profit will reconcile them to it. † *Every Man hath a private Spur within, and the Honour or Benefit of the Publick is of no Regard or Concern with them.*

9. They are perpetually growling and repining at the Government; ready to burſt with Diſcontent, and venting their ſuppoſed Grievances in all manner of infolent and baſe Language; aſperſing Thoſe that are ſet over them, and loading them with the moſt virulent Reproaches. Men of low Condition and ſmall Fortunes comfort Themſelves this

* Sine rectore præceps, pavidus, ſocors; nil auſura Plebs Principibus amotis.

† Privata cuique ſtimulatio, vile decus publicum.

way:

way: It is almoſt the only Pleaſure they find to ſpeak ill of the Rich, and the Great; and This, not becauſe they have any juſt Provocation, or Reaſon ſo to do, but purely out of Envy and Ill-nature, which never ſuffers them to reſt ſatisfy'd with their Governours, and the preſent Poſture of Affairs.

But they are all Talk and Froth; without Matter, without Reaſon; their Minds never advance, nor ſtir one ſtep; their Tongues are always in action, and never lie ſtill. They are a ſort of Monſter, made up of nothing but Tongue; in at All, and know Nothing; prying into every thing, and yet blind, and ſee nothing; any thing pleaſes and makes them laugh, and any thing diſcontents and makes them cry. They are always in readineſs for Mutiny and Rebellion, bluſter, and ſwagger, and threaten; but theſe forward Men in Deſign and Diſcourſe, take care to ſleep in a whole Skin, and are the backwardeſt in Fight, and upon the Approach of Danger. For their Property is, to be always ſtruggling to ſhake off their Yoke, and much better at trying for Liberty, than keeping it when they have it. † *The Temper of the Mobile*, (ſay the *Roman* Hiſtorians very truly) *is Sawcineſs and Inſolence; their Tongues are fierce and talkative, their Courage when it comes to tryal, Tameneſs and mere Nothing*; and all the Bravery they put on, ends in empty Boaſts and Bullying. 10. Saluſt. Tacit.

They never know when to give over, but are always running into Extremes; abſolute Strangers to Moderation and Decency. Either you have them cringing, and fawning, and deſcending to the vileſt and baſeſt ſubmiſſion of Slaves; or elſe inſolent, and tyrannical, and domineering, beyond 11.

† Procacia plebis Ingenia, Impigræ Linguæ, Ignavi Animi.

all Meaſure, beyond all Patience. They cannot endure the Rein when gently manag'd; nor be content to enjoy a reaſonable Liberty, and ſuch Indulgences and Terms as are fit for them; but are eternally either flying out, or falling under their Rider: Too confident, or too diſtruſtful of their own Strength; too bold, or too tame; tranſported with Hope, or quite diſpirited with Fear. They always bring Matters to this Iſſue, that if you do not make Them ſtand in awe of You, they will make You ſtand in awe of Them. When once you have humbled and terrify'd Them ſoundly, you may give them a Bit and a Knock, put out their Eyes, trample upon their Necks; nothing is ſo reproachful, but they will bear it. But if you do not ſhew them the Rod, and make them ſenſible who is their Driver, they grow proud, and daring, and turbulent. There is no ſuch thing as Ingenuity, or a Senſe of good Uſage to be expected from them; and hence comes that Proverb, commonly apply'd to thoſe churliſh Wretches, that grow upon Them, who treat them gently, and would win them by Favour and Kindneſs. *Stroke Him and he'll ſpurn You; ſpurn Him and he'll ſtroke You.* Tacit. * *The Vulgar know no Mean; they affright unleſs they fear; and when they are in fear, they may be ſafely deſpiſed.* Livy. † *They are troubleſomly bold, when out of Apprehenſion of a ſtronger Hand; the humbleſt Servants, or the haughtieſt Maſters: But for Liberty and Moderation, they pretend to value them moſt, but know how to practiſe and enjoy them leaſt.*

---

* Nil in vulgo modicum, terrere niſi paveant, ubi pertimuerint impune contemni.

† Audaciâ turbidum niſi vim metuat; aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbè dominatur; libertatem, quæ media, nec ſpernere, nec habere.

They

They are ſcandalous more eſpecially for Ingratitude to their beſt and moſt generous Benefactors. The Thanks and Recompence which thoſe Great Men have generally met with, that expended their Blood, and Treaſure, and Labours in the Service of the Publick, and have deſerv'd moſt at their Hands, are Baniſhment, or Diſgrace; an open Accuſation, or a general Calumny; a Conſpiracy, or an untimely Death. Hiſtories both Sacred and Profane furniſh infinite Inſtances, and are more full of no One thing, than celebrated Examples of this kind. *Moſes*, and all the Prophets; *Socrates*, *Ariſtides*, *Phocion*, *Lycurgus*, *Demoſthenes*, *Themiſtocles*, and many other venerable Names in Antiquity, are laſting indelible Monuments of this baſe Diſpoſition. Nay, *Truth it ſelf* told the *Jews*, that not any of Them who made it their Buſineſs to promote the Happineſs and Salvation of that People, had eſcaped the Malice and Violence of Them or their Foreſathers. But quite contrary, thoſe that oppreſs, and keep them under, they cheriſh and make much of; fear and admire all they do; when the loſs of Power and Freedom hath depreſs'd their Minds, and made them ſlaviſh too. 12. Matt. xxiii

In ſhort; The Mob is a ſavage Beaſt; all its Thoughts are Vanity, its Opinions and Aſſertions erroneous and falſe; the Good is commonly rejected and condemned, the Evil approved and applauded by them. The Commendations they give are Infamous, and their Projects and Undertakings, Folly. For *Seneca* hath told us long ſince, that * *Matters are not ſo well with Mankind, as that moſt Voices ſhould be on the beſt ſide. For the common Crowd is a ſhrewd Argument that what is ſo liked is very bad.* In ſhort, the Rabble is the Mother of Ignorance, 13.

* Non tam bene cum rebus humanis geritur, ut meliora plurib⁹ placeant; Argumentum peſſimi turba eſt.

Injuſtice,

Injuſtice, Inconſtancy, and Adorer of Vanity; and the ſtudying to pleaſe them can never turn to true Account. They give indeed for their Motto, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of God*: But we may ſay very truly, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of Foolish and Miſtaken Men.* And one of the firſt Principles of *Wiſdom*, is to waſh one's Hands, and get quite diſpoſſeſt of all popular and general Opinions, and to proceed clearly, and without any manner of Byaſs or Prejudice, in our Enquiries after *Truth* and *Virtue*. This will be quickly illuſtrated in our *Second Book*; toward which we are now drawing on apace.

The

The Fourth Diſtinction of Men, taken from their different Profeſſions, Circumſtances, and Manner of Living.

PREFACE.

WE are now about to take another Difference between Some Men and Others, into Conſideration; which depends upon their different Profeſſions, Conditions, and Ways of Life. Some follow a Life of Buſineſs and Company; Others avoid This, and make their Eſcape out of the World, by running into Solitude. Some are fond of Arms and a Camp; Others hate and abhor them: Some have their Subſtance in Common; Others have their own diſtinct Properties. Some are fond of Offices and Employments, and would fain live in Publick, and be conſpicuous in the World; Others decline Theſe when they might have them, and affect to live privately and unobſerv'd. Some are abſolute Courtiers to every Body, and upon all Occaſions; Others regard and make court to nothing but Themſelves. Some prefer the Diverſions of the Town, and Others the Pleaſures of the Country. It is not eaſie, nor is it indeed at all neceſſary and pertinent to our preſent Purpoſe, that I ſhould take upon me to determine which of all theſe Men is moſt to be commended for the Wiſdom of his Choice; for every one of theſe ways of Living hath its Advantages and

and Diſadvantages; ſome particular Good, and ſome Evil, that attends, and is not to be ſeparated from it: That which would be much more worth our Conſideration and Pains, is to inform each of Theſe in his Duty; for the main Point of all is, that this Choice be wiſely made, and ſo as may ſuit beſt with every one's Temper and Abilities; and then after he hath choſen, that the Man be inſtructed how to make himſelf the moſt eaſie under it, and to make the beſt Improvement of it that the Caſe will bear. This muſt be our Buſineſs hereafter; but at preſent we will ſay juſt one ſingle Word of each of theſe Conditions, and compare them a little with one another. Only permit in the firſt place, that I make ſome ſhort Obſervations upon That Life which is common to Men in all Capacities, and which may be diſtinguiſh'd into Three Sorts or Degrees.

CHAP. LIII.

The Three Sorts or Degrees of Life, as it is common to the Generality of Men, diſtinguiſh'd and compar'd together.

IT is eaſie to obſerve Three diſtinct Sorts, and as it were Degrees of Life, common to Men in general. One *Private*, in which every Man is unavoidably concern'd; for by this I mean only what paſſes with each Man's Self, within, and in regard to his Own Breaſt. The Second is *Domeſtick*, in one's Own Houſe and Family, with regard to what paſſes at Home, and in our ordinary Courſe of Affairs. The Third is *Publick*, and reſpects what is expoſed to the common View of the World. In the Firſt of theſe there is no manner of Reſtraint;

in

the Second no Pains or Study to recommend e's Behaviour, as being not accountable for our vn Management to Them that live under our vn Roof and Government; but all the Reſerve, d Artifice, and Diſſimulation is in a manner ap-opriated to the laſt of Theſe. Now it is much ore difficult to be regular and exact in the firſt of eſe Degrees, than in either of the other; and the amples of Perſons that are, or have been ſo, have en infinitely fewer; and ſo in proportion the aſe ſtands with the Second too, in compariſon of e Third ſort. The Reaſon is obvious and evident. or where there is no Body to judge, or controul, or ountermand; nay, where there is not ſo much as Spectator to obſerve our Actions; where we have o Apprehenſion of Puniſhment for doing amiſs, o Expectation of Reward for doing well, we are uch more remiſs and careleſs in our Behaviour. eaſon and Conſcience are here the only Guides e have to follow; and although Theſe may be me Check, yet that is not comparable to the Re-raints we feel, when placed in open View, and nade the common Mark of All, who muſt needs ee, and will take a Freedom of cenſuring our Ac-ons. Applauſe and Glory, fear of Scandal and Re-proach, or ſome other Paſſion of the like Nature, are much more powerful Motives; theſe carry and manage us after a very different manner. (And in-deed the greateſt part of Mankind are more go-vern'd by Paſſions of this Nature, than by any ſtrict Senſe of Duty, and regard to Virtue) Theſe put us upon our Guard, and teach us Prudence upon force. And from the Influence of Theſe it is, that many People have the Reputation of Holy and Excellent Perſons; and behave Themſelves as ſuch in the Eye of the World; who yet in reality, and at the bottom, are mere Hypocrites, ſtark nought, and rotten at the Core, and have not one commendable

Quality

Quality belonging to them. What paſſes before Men is all Farce and Counterfeit; we put it on for Convenience, and are concern'd to appear thus to the Spectators; but the Truth of us is conceal'd, and the Man can have no true Judgment made of him, but from what he does in private and alone. We muſt ſee him in his conſtant and every-day's Dreſs, and ſtrip him of thoſe Ornaments that ſet him off when he comes abroad: We muſt know his Temper and his uſual Deportment, for all the reſt is Fiction and Conſtraint. * *All the World are Actors, and play their Parts to pleaſe the Audience.* And it was well obſerv'd by a Wiſe Man, That none are good, except ſuch as are ſo inwardly, and by Themſelves: And that Virtue is always the ſame; as cautious, as prudent upon the account of Conſcience, as it is in Obedience to the publick Laws and Cuſtoms of the World; as fearful of offending one's own Self, and as careful to avoid the Condemnation of one's own Breaſt, when no Eye ſees us, as it is of the Obſervation and Reproaches of all Mankind. Publick Actions, ſuch as Exploits in War, delivering an Opinion in Senate or Council, diſcharging an Embaſſy, governing a Nation, or the like, are bright and loud; every Body ſees, every Body hears of them; and therefore Theſe are perform'd with all poſſible Diligence and Circumſpection; but ſuch Private and Domeſtick ones, as Chiding, Laughing, Selling and Buying, Borrowing and Paying, and Converſing with our own Families, and moſt intimate Acquaintance, are ſilent and dark; they make no Noiſe, fear no Diſcovery, and are therefore thought worthy very little, or not any Attention or Conſideration at all. Nay, we are ſometimes ſcarce ſo

* Univerſus mundus exercet hiſtrionium.

much

much as ſenſible of them when we do them. And if in Theſe, Men be ſo unthinking, a little Reflection will ſoon convince us, that they are infinitely more ſo, in Thoſe yet more ſecret and merely internal; ſuch as Loving, Hating, Deſiring, of which none is or can be conſcious, but their own Minds.

There is one Thing more, fit to be obſerved upon this Occaſion, and a very ſad and wicked Thing it is (*viz.*) That Men, being depraved by a kind of Hypocriſie, natural to them, have taught Themſelves and Others to make a greater Conſcience, and be infinitely more ſcrupulous and concern'd, for their outward Behaviour; (which conſiſts in Shew, and Form, and is perfectly free and at their own Diſpoſal, of no Conſequence in the World, but all over Set-Countenance and Ceremony, Things of no real Difficulty, and as little Subſtance and Effect) than they are for inward Miſcarriages, or private Actions; (ſuch as are buried in Secrecy, and make no Figure, but yet are highly Expedient and Neceſſary, very Valuable in Themſelves, and therefore very Difficult) For upon theſe Laſt, the Reforming of our Souls, the Moderating of our Paſſions, and the Regulating our whole Life and Converſation depends. And yet the Former are not only preferred before them in our Care and Concern, but the Matter is ſo ordered, that even They who find themſelves well diſpoſed, will by conſtant Study and Sollicitude to diſcharge thoſe outward Actions punctually, degenerate into Formality of Courſe, and by inſenſible Degrees grow Cold, and Negligent, in their Regard for the others.

Now, of all theſe Sorts, it is plain, that the Men (as Hermits for Inſtance) who live in perfect Solitude, and have but One of theſe Three, That of the Internal and moſt private Life only to take

take Care of, are upon better Terms, and have an eaſier Task to diſcharge, than Thoſe that have Two; and ſo likewiſe he that hath the Domeſtick Care added to the former, and ſo lies under a Duty in Two Capacities, is expoſed to leſs Difficulty than the Perſons of a Publick Life and Character, upon whom the Care of all the Three Degrees is incumbent.

CHAP. LIV.

A Life of Company and Buſineſs, compar'd with one of Retirement and Solitude.

THey that upon all Occaſions recommend and cry up a *Solitary Life*, are ſo far certainly in the Right, that it is an Excellent Means of Eaſe and Quiet; a ſure Retreat from the Hurry and Troubles of the World; a very proper and effectual Defence againſt the Vices and Extravagances of a profligate Age; which are commonly propagated by Infection and Example; and are very likely to Spread and Reign, where much the greater Part of thoſe we converſe with, are already tainted with the Diſeaſe. For not One in a Thouſand is Vertuous and Good; the Number of Fools is Infinite, and the thicker the Crowd, the greater the Danger. Thus far, I ſay, they have Reaſon on their Side; for ill Company is certainly one of the moſt fatal and enſnaring Things in the World; and that, not only in Regard of the Corruption, but of the Puniſhment and Vengeance it expoſes Men to. Accordingly we may obſerve how very careful Men that went to Sea, uſed to be, that no Blaſphemer or profane Perſon ſhould embark in the

the ſame Veſſels, no profligate, wicked Wretch to endanger their Safety, or render their Voyage Diſaſtrous or Unſucceſsful. One ſingle *Jonas* you ſee, whom God was angry with, had like to have loſt all the Ship's Crew: And *Bias*, when ſome wicked Wretches call'd upon their Gods in a Storm, made them this ingenious Reproof by way of Raillery, *Hold your Peace, that they may not diſcover ſuch vile Wretches as you are on board.* *Albuquerque*, who was Viceroy of the Indies under *Emamuel*, King of *Portugal*, when in extreme Danger, laid hold on a young Boy, and clung faſt to him, that ſo his Innocence might be a Shelter and Sanctuary to him, againſt the Wrath of God. So beneficial hath Virtue been eſteemed, and ſo deſtructive Vice, not only to the Guilty, or the Vicious Perſons themſelves, but to all that are concerned with them, or come within the Reach of their Influence.

But yet to eſteem a Life thus retired and at a Diſtance from Evil, abſolutely the Beſt, and moſt Excellent; to think it better qualify'd than any other, for the Exerciſe and Perfection of Virtue; to call it more Difficult and Unpleaſant, more Laborious and Painful than any other, as ſome who extol a voluntary renouncing the World, would fain perſuade us to believe, is a mighty Error in themſelves, or a groſs Cheat upon other People. For, quite contrary, it is the moſt effectual Expedient of throwing off the Cares and troubleſome Incumbrances of Life, and rendring it light and eaſie; and to ſay the very Beſt of it, is but a very mean and moderate Attainment, an imperfect Beginning, or rather a mere Diſpoſition to be Virtuous. It is, not to meddle with Buſineſs, to abandon Difficulties and Troubles; But how is this done? It is not by engaging with, and bravely overcoming them, but by cowardly running away, declining the Combate, and hiding ones ſelf from

them. It is to play leaſt in Sight, and be buried alive, for fear we ſhould not live well when we are ſeen. No Doubt is to be made, but a Prince, a Magiſtrate, or Parochial Prieſt, are more perfect, more valuable, when Good in their kind, than Monks and Hermits: For in truth, ſuch Societies and Seminaries were only deſign'd to prepare Men for Dignities and Buſineſs; to qualifie them for Society and the World. And Colleges and Cloiſters do not give, but only lead Men to Uſefulneſs and Perfection. He that maintains his Poſt in the World, and ſatisfies the Duty which the ſeveral Relations and Capacities he ſtands in require from him; that converſes with Wife, and Children, and Servants, and Neighbours, and Friends; that manages his own Eſtate, and engages in Buſineſs fit for his Condition; He, I ſay, that undertakes to act ſo many different Parts, and to anſwer the ſeveral Characters as becomes him, hath incomparably more Work upon his Hands, and is infinitely more Valuable, if he perform it, than the Recluſe, who is determined to one ſingle thing, and hath only the Duty to himſelf to take care of. For Company and Variety of Converſation is infinitely more hazardous, than Solitude; and Plenty much harder to manage than Want. In a State of Abſtinence, and Freedom from Buſineſs, a Man hath but one Paſs to guard; in the Uſe and Management of ſeveral Things, many Conſiderations muſt be attended to, many Duties diſcharged, and he lies open to Attacks from ſeveral Quarters at once. And there is no Doubt in the World to be made, but a Man may much more eaſily conquer Himſelf to diſclaim and refuſe Riches, and Honours, great Offices and gainful Preferments, than he can govern himſelf in the Uſe, or come off with Virtue and juſt Commendation in the Diſcharge of them. It is no very difficult Matter to live without a Wife, but

but to live with a Wife, and behave ones ſelf in all Reſpects, as a Husband ought to do; to order and educate Children, and bear due Regard, and make fit Proviſions for a Family, and all its Dependencies; is a Task Men ſeldom give themſelves the trouble to conſider. But They that do, and make a right Judgment of it, will be very far from extolling Cælibacy, as ſome do, or think it an Argument of higher Virtue, or a State of greater Difficulty than Marriage.

2. Nor are Men leſs miſtaken, when they ſuppoſe that *Solitude* is a ſafe Shelter from all manner of Vice; and that He, who takes Sanctuary in it, and ſequeſters himſelf from the World, rides in Harbour, and is out of the Reach of Tempeſts and Temptations; for Theſe find a way to purſue, and overtake us even There. This is indeed a Convenient Retreat from the Corruptions of ill Company; from the Clutter and Crowd of Cares and Buſineſs, and the Miſchiefs that threaten and come upon us from Without; but there are other Enemies and Dangers from Within, which we always carry about us, and cannot run away from, Spiritual and Internal Difficulties, Domeſtick and peculiar Evils; and the Scripture takes expreſs Notice, that the *Wilderneſs* was the Place, where our Saviour was Aſſaulted, and *Tempted by the Devil.* Retirement is a dangerous Weapon in the Hands of Young Men; ſuch as are Hot and Imprudent, Raſh and Unskilful; and there is great Reaſon to fear, that, what *Crates* ſaid to a Young Man whom he found walking all alone, is generally true of ſuch Perſons; and that ſuch, when they are by Themſelves, are in very bad Company. This is the Place where Fools lay their wicked Projects; here they find Leiſure and Opportunities for contriving their own Ruine; here they cheriſh and indulge unlawful Deſires; file, and poliſh, and refine upon their own Paſſions, without Obſervation,

without Controul. A Man had need be very Wiſe, to know how to make the beſt Uſe of Privacy; watchful and well fortify'd, before he is fit to be truſted with Himſelf; for many times ones Own Hands, are the very Worſt he can be put into. It is an excellent Petition, which the *Spaniards* uſe, even to a Proverb, * *O Lord, I beſeech thee, preſerve me from My Self. Very few indeed, have diſcretion enough to be left to Themſelves, and nothing is ſo bad, but Secrecy and Solitude, are powerful Temptations to comply with it.* But for Men to take up their Heels, and skulk in a Corner, upon any Private and Perſonal Conſideration, though it be a lawful and commendable one in it ſelf, which yet is the beſt, and not always the Truth of the Caſe (for very often Cowardice, and Weakneſs of Spirit, Peeviſhneſs and Pets, or ſome other diſcontented or vicious Paſſion is at the Bottom of all this pompous and pretended Contempt of the World) is to turn Deſerter, and not dare to ſtand to our Arms. There is a mighty Difference between forſaking the World, and falling out with it; between conquering, and not hazarding our Perſons in the Engagement. And when Men are in a Capacity of becoming beneficial to Others, and may be Inſtruments of Great and General Good, to excuſe Themſelves from ſerving the Publick, and abandon all Society when they might adorn and be uſeful in it, is to betray their Truſt, to *bury their Talent in a Napkin*; to *hide the Candle*, which God hath lighted, *under a Buſhel*, when the ſetting it on a Candle-Stick, might *enlighten* others, and do great Service to *all that are in the Houſe*. It requires then much Deliberation, and many uncommon Circumſtances, to give Men a

* Guarda mi, Dios de mi.
Nemo eſt ex imprudentibus, qui ſibi relinqui debeat. Soli-tudo omnia perſuadet.

Right

Right thus to diſpoſe of Themſelves. And they who preſume to do it merely out of private Conſiderations, and make the Publick no part of their Concern, are ſo far from deſerving to be applauded for their Virtue and Reſignation, that they are guilty of a great Fault, and liable to very juſt and ſevere Cenſure.

CHAP. LV.

A Life in Common, compared with That of diſtinct Properties.

SOme Perſons have been of Opinion, that a *Life*, where all Things are *in Common*, and there is no ſuch Diſtinction as *Mine* or *Thine*, hath the greateſt Tendency to Perfection, and is beſt accommodated for the cheriſhing and maintaining of Charity and Concord, and Union among Men. But Experience ſhews us daily, that whatever Conveniencies it may really have of this kind, yet are they not ſo great, nor ſo effectual to the Purpoſes before-mention'd, as thoſe Perſons have imagined. For in the firſt Place, whatever Appearance there may be outwardly of Kindneſs and good Agreement, yet there is no ſuch Thing as an entire and hearty Affection, nor the ſame tender Regards for That which is in Common, as a Man finds where he alone is concern'd. To this purpoſe it is, that we have two Proverbs, *The College Horſe is always ill ſadled*, and *Every Body's Buſineſs, is No Body's Buſineſs.* Men conſider, that Others are equally concern'd in the Care, and in the Damage; that the Loſs is not immediately their own, and that each Member of the Society ſtands in that reſpect equal-

ly related to them, and that begets a Coldneſs and Indifferency among them. But, which is a great deal worſe, this State does naturally produce Quarrels and Diſcontents, Murmuring and mutual Hatred; every Community is but too full a Demonſtration of it, and the very Holieſt and Beſt that ever was, the Primitive Church it ſelf, could not, you ſee, be exempted from the Misfortune. For, though the Inſtitution deſign all Things ſhould be equal, yet unleſs you could make the Deſires of the Perſons ſo too, they will always be full of Complaints, and Jealous, that ſome are preferred, and others neglected; like the *Grecians* and their Widows in the Daily Diſtributions. The Nature of *Love*, is like that of Great Rivers; which, while they continue united in one Stream are Navigable, and carry Veſſels of Vaſt Burden; but if you cut them into freſh Channels, and divide the Water, they are no longer Serviceable in that kind; and thus, when Men's Affections are divided, and parted, as it were among a great many Objects, not any one of thoſe Perſons or Things is of very tender Concern; for all the Force and Vigour of the Paſſion is ſcattered and broke to Pieces. Now, in a *Life of Community*, there are ſeveral Degrees; *To live*, that is, to eat and drink together at a common Table, is very decent and well, (Thus we find it practiſed in ſome of the beſt and *moſt* ancient Commonwealths, as *Lacedemon* and *Crete* particularly) ſuch publick Meals are very uſeful for the teaching Men to be modeſt and reſerved, and keeping up Diſcipline, Society, and Good Order; and they do alſo miniſter occaſion for great variety of very uſeful and improving Diſcourſe. But to think of pulling up the Fences and Incloſures, and lay all in Common, is a wild Imagination. *Plato* was once of this Opinion, but he thought better of it afterwards. And indeed the Project would

Acts vi.

would be ſo far from reconciling and uniting All, that the certain Conſequence of it would be to overturn and confound All.

CHAP. LVI.

A Town and a Country Life compared together.

THis is a Compariſon very eaſie for any Man who is a true Lover of Wiſdom, to make; for almoſt all the Advantages lie on one ſide. The Pleaſures and Conveniences both of Body and Mind, Liberty, Contemplation, Innocence, Health, and Delight. In the *Country* a Man's Mind is free and eaſie; diſcharg'd, and at his own Diſpoſal: But in the *City* the Perſons of Friends and Acquaintance, one's own and other People's Buſineſs, fooliſh Quarrels, ceremonious Viſits, impertinent Diſcourſe, and a Thouſand other Fopperies and Diverſions ſteal away the greateſt part of our Time, and leave no Leiſure for better and more neceſſary Employment. What infinite Perplexities, Avocations, Diſtractions of the Mind, and, which is worſt of all, what abominable Debaucheries, and Depravation of Manners does ſuch a Life expoſe Men to? Great Towns are but a larger ſort of Priſons to the Soul, like Cages to Birds, or Pounds to Beaſts. This Celeſtial Fire within us will not endure to be ſhut up, it requires Air to brighten and make it burn clear; which made *Columella* ſay, that a Country Life is Couſin-German to Wiſdom: for a Man's Thoughts cannot be idle; and when they are ſet looſe from the World, they will range and expatiate freely in noble and profitable Meditations. But how ſhall a

Man hope to command his Thoughts, or pretend to call them his Own, in the midſt of all the Clutter, and Buſineſs, the Amuſements, nay the Confuſions of the Town? A Country Life is infinitely more plain, and innocent, and diſpoſed to Purity and Virtue. In Cities Vice aſſembles in Troops; the very Commonneſs of it makes it unobſerv'd; it hardens and reconciles us to the Practice, Example, and Cuſtom; and the meeting with it at every Turn, makes the thing familiar; and thus the Diſeaſe ſeizes us ſtrongly and preſently, and we are gone all on the ſudden, by living in the midſt of the Infection. Whereas in the Country, thoſe Things are ſeen or heard with Abhorrence and Amazement, which the Town ſees and does every Day without Remorſe or Concern. As for Pleaſure and Health, the clear Air, the Warmth and Brightneſs of the Sun, not polluted with the Sultry Gleams, and loathſome Stenches of the Town; the Springs and Waters, the Flowers and Groves, and, in ſhort, All Nature is free, and eaſie, and gay; The Earth unlocks her Treaſures, refreſhes us with her Fruits, feaſts every Senſe, and gives us ſuch Entertainment, as Cities know nothing of, in the ſtifling preſs of Houſes; ſo that to live there, is to ſhut one's ſelf up, and be baniſh'd from the World. Beſides all this, a Country Retirement is more active and fit for Exerciſe; and this creates an Appetite, preſerves and reſtores Health and Vigour, hardens the Body, and makes it luſty and ſtrong. The greateſt Commendation of the Town is, Convenience for Buſineſs and Profit. It is indeed the Seat of Trade and private Gain, and therefore fit to be the Darling of Merchants and Artificers: And it is the Place accommodated to Publick Adminiſtrations; but this latter but a very ſmall part of Mankind are call'd to, or capable of. And Hiſtory tells us, that heretofore excellent Perſons

were

were fetch'd out of the Country, to undertake Affairs of the greateſt Importance; and aſſoon as they had finiſh'd theſe, they retir'd again with wonderful Delight, and made the Town not a Matter of Choice, but Neceſſity and Conſtraint: This was the ſhort Scene of Labour and Buſineſs to them; but the Country was the Seat of their Pleaſure, and more conſtant Reſidence.

CHAP. LVII.

Of a Military Life.

THE Profeſſion and Employment of a *Soldier*, if we reſpect the Cauſe and Original Deſign of it, is very worthy and honourable; for it pretends to protect the Safety, and promote the Grandeur of one's native Country; to preſerve it in Peace, and guard it from the Inſults of Enemies abroad, and turbulent Spirits at home; than which nothing can be more juſt, nothing more univerſally beneficial. It is alſo noble and great in the Execution of this Deſign: For *Courage*, which is its proper Quality and Character, is the braveſt, moſt generous, moſt Heroick of all Virtues; And of all Humane Actions and Exploits, Thoſe of War are the moſt celebrated and pompous; inſomuch that the Titles and Enſigns of Honour, borrow their Names from, and are aſſign'd as Rewards to Them. It hath alſo many Pleaſures peculiar to it; the Converſation of Men of the firſt Quality, in heat of Youth, and full of Fire and Activity; the being familiarly acquainted with ſtrange Accidents, and wonderful entertaining Sights; freedom of Behaviour, and Converſe without Trick or Art; a Maſculine

culine and hardy way of living, above Ceremony or Form; Variety of Attempts and Succeſſes: The moving Harmony of warlike Muſick, which entertains the Ears, charms all the Senſes, warms the Soul, and inſpires it with Valour; the Graceſulneſs of Motion and Diſcipline, that tranſport and delight us with a pleaſing Horrour; that Storm of Shouts and Alarms, which the louder it grows, the more raviſhing and animating it is; and the roaring Ordinance of ſo many Thouſand Men that fall on with incredible Fury and Eagerneſs.

But when all Theſe, and as many more Excellencies as its moſt zealous Patrons can attribute to this *Calling*, have been allow'd, every reaſonable Man muſt acknowledge on the other hand, that the Plundering, Undoing, Murdering one another, and eſpecially the making Theſe a Matter of Art, and Study; a Science and a Commendation, ſeems highly unnatural, and the effect of Barbarity and Madneſs. Nothing is a ſtronger Evidence againſt Mankind, of their Weakneſs, and Imperfection, and foul Degeneracy; for it ſets us below the very Brutes themſelves, in the moſt ſavage of which the Original Impreſſions of Nature are not defac'd to this ſcandalous Degree. What an infinite Folly, what an execrable Rage is it, to create all this Diſturbance, and turn the World upſide-down, to encounter and run thro' ſo many Hazards by Sea and Land, for a Prize ſo very doubtful and full of Chance, as the Event of a Battle? Why ſhould we make Campaigns abroad, and turn Volunteers to foreign Princes, to run with ſo much Eagerneſs and Appetite after Death, (which may be found, nay, which of its own accord meets us at home, and offers it ſelf every where) and that without propoſing to our ſelves ſo much as decent Burial? To fall on, and kill Men that we have no Spite, no Reſentment againſt; nay, Men that are abſo-

lute

ute Strangers, and whom we never ſaw in all our Lives? Why this mighty Heat and Fury, to one that hath done thee no hurt, given thee no provocation? What a Madneſs is it to venture Loſs of Limbs and Blood, Wounds and Bruiſes, which when they do not take Life quite away, make it ſubject to Remedies and Pains a Thouſand times more grievous and inſupportable than Death? Had you Obligations of Duty and Conſcience, it were another Matter; but to do this for Breeding and Fame; to ſacrifice and deſtroy one's ſelf for a Man that you never ſaw, who hath no manner of Tenderneſs or Concern for you; and only ſtrives to mount upon the dead or maim'd Body, that he may ſtand a little higher, and enlarge his own Proſpect; Nothing but very weighty Reaſons, and the neceſſary Defence of all that is dear to us, can make ſuch an Undertaking prudent and commendable: And in ſuch Caſes all perſonal Conſiderations ought to be deſpiſed as much as otherwiſe they are fit to be valu'd. And I hope too, the Reader takes notice all along, that I ſpeak of thoſe who chooſe the Trade for Mercenary Ends, or out of falſe Notions of Gallantry; and not with any Intention to diſcourage the Duty of Subjects to their Prince, whoſe juſt Quarrels they ought always to account their Own.

The Fifth and Laſt Difference between Some Men and Others; taken from the Advantages and Diſadvantages, by which Nature or Fortune hath diſtinguiſhed them.

PREFACE.

THis Laſt Diſtinction is abundantly notorious, and viſible to every Eye; It hath indeed ſeveral Branches and Conſiderations included under it; but all I think may be conveniently enough reduced to Two General Heads; which, according to the vulgar way of Expreſſion, may be termed, Happineſs and Unhappineſs; being High or Low in the World. To that of Happineſs or Greatneſs, belong Health, Beauty, and other Qualifications and Advantages of Body and Perſon, Liberty, Nobility, Honour, Authority, Learning, Riches, Reputation, Friends. In Unhappineſs or Meanneſs of Condition are comprehended the Contraries of all Theſe, which, without naming particularly, we eaſily underſtand to be the privation or want of the foremention'd Advantages. Now theſe Particulars are the occaſion of infinite variety in Men's Circumſtances and Conditions of Life; for a Man may be happy in the Enjoyment of One, or Two, or Three of theſe Qualities, and yet not ſo in the reſt; and even in Thoſe

hoſe he hath, he may be happy in a greater or leſs De-ee; and thoſe Degrees are capable of being ſo many, at it is not eaſie, if at all poſſible, to expreſs or con-ive them. But upon the whole Mattter, in the Diſtri-ution and Diſpoſal of our Fortunes and Affairs, Provi-nce hath ſo ordered it, that Few or None ſhould be ei-er happy or unhappy in every one of theſe Reſpects. He en that partakes of moſt, and particularly thoſe Three dvantages, of Nobility, Dignity or Authority, and Riches, eſteem'd Great; and he that hath none of thoſe Three reckoned among the mean Men. But ſeveral Perſons ave only One or Two of the Three; and ſo they ſtand in ſort of middle Capacity, between the two Extremes, nd are neither High nor Low. We will ſpeak very riefly to each of them.

As for *Health* and *Beauty*, and other Advantages that relate to the Body and Perſons of Men, enough hath been ſaid of them already; and ſo likewiſe of *Sickneſs* and *Pain*, which are Diſadvantages contrary to them. Chap. VI. Chap. X.

CHAP. LVIII.

Of Liberty and Servitude.

Liberty paſſes in the Eſteem of many for a moſt eminent Advantage, and *Servitude* for a very grievous Evil; ſo exceeding great, that ſome have rather choſen to Die, and that after a very barbarous and painful manner, than to be made Slaves or Captives; nay, rather than come into any danger of ſeeing their own, or their Country's Freedom and Properties infringed, or uſurp'd upon. But as in all Other Caſes of the like Nature, ſo in This alſo, there may be a very Criminal Exceſs of Par-

Partiality, and a fanciful Fondneſs of what we deſervedly have a high eſteem for. There is in truth a *Twofold Liberty:* the true and proper ſort is That of the Mind; for This is in every Man's own Keeping and Diſpoſal, no Body can wreſt it out of our Hands, nothing can impair or encroach upon it, not even the Tyranny of Fortune it ſelf. On the other ſide, The *Bondage of the Mind* is the heavieſt, and moſt wretched of all others; to live a Slave to one's Appetites and Luſts; to lie down in our Chains, and let our Paſſions prey upon us; to be led by the Noſe by Prejudice, and Error, and Superſtition: Oh This! This is a miſerable Captivity indeed. The *Liberty of one's Perſon* is really valuable, but ſtill that lies at the Mercy of Fortune. And as valuable as it is, yet (unleſs it be attended with ſome very uncommon Circumſtance to enhance its Worth) there can never be Juſtice or Reaſon in giving it the Preference above Life it ſelf; as ſome of the Ancients have done, who choſe to ſuffer, nay, to inflict Death, and make it the Work of their Own Hands upon Themſelves, rather than not die free: And even of this (to me ſeeming) Extravagance we find large Commendations, as if it were a more exalted Virtue than ordinary, ſo very dreadful Notions had they then of *Slavery.* * *It is* (ſays One of them) *the Obedience of an enfeebl'd and deſpicable Soul, that hath parted with its own Will.* And yet as vile as they repreſent this State, very great and very wiſe Men have liv'd in it; as *Regulus, Valerian, Plato, Epictetus;* and have had the Misfortune too of very wicked, unjuſt, and barbarous Maſters; and yet they have never brought any diſhonourable Reflections upon their Virtues, or thought Themſelves one

* Servitus obedientia eſt fracti & abjecti Animi, arbitrio carentis ſuo.

whit

whit the worſe for it, becauſe in truth and very deed, they ſtill continu'd Free, and at their own Diſpoſal; much more ſo than the Maſters, who pretended to Dominion over them.

CHAP. LIX.

Of Nobility.

1. *Nobility* is a Quality or Diſtinction receiv'd and valu'd in all Parts of the World: It is a Mark and an Attractive of Honour and Reſpect, inſtituted and brought into Uſe for very good Reaſons, and much to the Benefit of the Publick.

2. *Deſcription of it.* It is not every where the ſame; but differently reputed, and taken in divers Senſes, according to the different Judgments of Men, and the Cuſtoms of the Countries where they live. From hence we find ſeveral Sorts or Species of it pretended to; but according to the common and moſt general Notion of the thing, it is the Quality of a Man's Family. *Ariſtotle* calls it, the *Antiquity of the Family, and the long Continuance of an Eſtate in it. Plutarch* terms it the *Virtue of the Family*; meaning by this, ſome certain Character, and particular good Quality, for which our Anceſtors were eminent, and which hath been propagated in Succeſſion, and is continu'd in the ſeveral Deſcendents of that Houſe. Now what this Quality is in particular, which ſhould merit ſuch a Diſtinction, hath not been agreed on all hands. Some, and indeed the greater part, will have it to be Atchievements in War; others add, or equal to this, Politick and Civil Prudence; whereby Men become neceſſary to the State by their Counſels, as the former do in the

the Field: To Theſe have likewiſe been added Eminence in Learning, and particular Offices in the Courts of Princes, as Accompliſhments thought fit and ſufficient to diſtinguiſh a Man's Family, *and* derive Honour down upon Thoſe that deſcend from him. But I think it muſt be acknowledg'd by *all* conſidering Perſons, that the Military Honours have the Advantage, and deſerve a Preference above all the reſt, both becauſe the Qualities of this kind are moſt ſerviceable to the State in its greateſt Exigencies and Diſtreſſes; and becauſe it is the moſt painful and laborious, and expoſes Men's Perſons to the greateſt and moſt apparent Dangers. From whence it is, that a particular Veneration and Reſpect, a louder Applauſe and Commendation is allowed univerſally to Them; and that Theſe by way of Eminence and Privilege, have attain'd to that diſtinguiſhing Character of Valour or Worth. Now according to this Opinion, Two things are neceſſary, and muſt both contribute as Ingredients to the Compoſition of that which is the *True* and *Perfect Nobility*. Firſt, There muſt be the Profeſſion and Appearance of this Virtue or good Quality ſerviceable to the Publick, and this is as it were the Form; and then there muſt be the Family, in which, as in the Matter or proper Subject, this Quality is inherent; that is, there is requir'd a long uninterrupted Continuation of it, thro' ſeveral Deſcents, and Time out of mind. Hence, according to the vulgar Jargon, they are ſtiled *Gentlemen*, that is, Perſons who are Branches and Deſcendents of the ſame Blood, and Houſe; bearing the ſame Name, and the ſame Profeſſion of this diſtinguiſhing Quality, for ſeveral Generations. That Perſon then is truly, properly, and entirely Noble, who makes ſingular Profeſſion of ſome Publick Virtue; that renders himſelf uſeful and remarkable in the Service of his Prince and his Country; and is

ſprung

prung from Relations and Anceſtors, who have one the ſame before him, in the reſpective Ages when they liv'd.

Some, it is true, have ſeparated theſe two Qua- 3.
ifications, and conſider'd them apart; as being of *This diſtin-*
Opinion, that One of theſe ſingly, that is, *Perſonal* *guiſhed.*
Virtue and Worth, without any Advantages of *Birth*, is ſufficient to entitle a Man to this Honour. They think it hard that Men ſhould be excluded, merely upon Conſideration of their Anceſtors wanting the Excellencies, which they have rendred Themſelves conſpicuous for. Now This is a *Perſonal* and *Acquir'd Nobility*; and very valuable it is; but yet the Vogue and Cuſtom of the World hath ſo far obtain'd, that They think it very hard too, for the Son of a Cobler, a Butcher, or a Plough-Man, to ſtart up Noble, and be rank'd among the moſt Ancient Honours, let his Service to the Publick have been never ſo great and valuable. But yet this Opinion hath got good Footing in ſeveral Nations, and particularly among the *Turks*. For they have no regard at all to a Man's *Blood*, the Nobility of his Anceſtors, or the Antiquity of his Deſcent; They look upon Theſe Conſiderations to be full of unreaſonable Partiality, Checks and Diſcouragements to Men's Bravery; and therefore, to cheriſh the Inclinations of doing Glorioufly, they lay the whole Streſs upon Perſonal Performances and Accompliſhments; and particularly upon Actual Courage, and thoſe Excellencies that are purely Military. The other Part of this Diſtinction, is That which conſiſts in the *Antiquity* of a Man's *Family* only, where the Pretenſions to *Nobility* are merely upon the Account of his *Progenitors*, without any Profeſſion of ſuch a Quality as was before mention'd and explain'd; and this is a *Nobility* which runs in the *Blood*, and is purely Natural.

in his Generation: So extremely abſurd, and contrary to all the Rules of Equity and Common Senſe, is this extravagant Notion of *Nobility* by *Deſcent* only. A Father by his Frugality and Prudence raiſed the Family; and therefore the Prodigal Son, who ſquanders all away, and beggars the Family, values himſelf upon the Prudence of his Father. A brave General deſerv'd the firſt and beſt Promotion, and therefore his Great-Grandſon, though a rank Coward, ſhall not only inherit his Titles and Eſtate, (in which there may be reaſon, becauſe Men eſteem Themſelves rewarded by the Continuance of thoſe external Forms and Honours to their Poſterity) but this Coward ſhall really think himſelf a better Man than another brave Fellow with whom he converſes, becauſe his Great-Grandther was brave. And yet, as extravagant as this Folly is in it ſelf, it will be, and always hath been Epidemical. For *Saluſt* obſerv'd even in his Time, * *That Pride and a Diſdainful Temper, was an Evil that uſually went along with Quality and good Birth.*

5. *Acquired and Perſonal.*

As for that other kind of *Nobility*, which is *Perſonal* and *Acquired*, the Condition of it is the very Reverſe of the Former. It hath very excellent Qualities and Effects; It is peculiar to the Poſſeſſor; he hath a full and indiſputable Title, and Merit hath made it all his Own: It cannot be diſpenſed promiſcuouſly, nor fall upon a Man that will be a Diſhonour to it; and It is of infinite Benefit and Advantage to all who converſe, or can any way come to be concern'd with it. Nay, if we examine the Matter, it will be found that This hath the Advantage, even in the darling and ſo much-boaſted Point of Antiquity too; and we are very ſure, by ſad Experience, that it is much

* Contemptor animus & ſuperbia commune nobilitatis malum.

more

more rare and uncommon than the Natural. For from This it was, that the *Natural* firſt took its beginning; the ſo much celebrated Anceſtors got their *Nobility* this way; and their degenerate Offſpring are beholding to it in the Perſons of Them, for all the Subject of their Vanity ever ſince. In ſhort; This is real and ſubſtantial, it conſiſts in Virtue, and Uſefulneſs, and good Conſequences to all Mankind; not empty, and dry, and a gay Idea; a Dream, and Creature of a deluded Imagination only: This proceeds from the Mind and the very Man, not from the Blood and Body; and Minds are the ſame; every whit as generous and great, and by Improvement and Induſtry frequently rendred more ſo in Others; tho' the Blood may differ, and not be Noble. * *Who* (ſays *Seneca*) *is a Gentleman? The Man, whom Nature hath diſpoſed, and as it were cut out for Virtue; this Man is well born indeed: For the Man wants nothing elſe to make him Noble, who hath a Mind ſo generous, that he can riſe above, and triumph over Fortune, let his Condition of Life be what it will.*

But theſe Two kinds dwell moſt amicably together, and often meet in the ſame Perſon, (as indeed there ſeems a great Aptitude and Diſpoſition for them to do) and when they center thus in one Perſon, then the *Nobility* is perfect and complete. The *Natural* is an Introduction, an Occaſion, a Spur to the *Perſonal*; for all things have a ſtrong tendency, and very eaſily revert to their firſt and natural Principle. And as the Natural firſt took its Origine and Exiſtence from the Perſonal, ſo it inclines and leads the Perſons ſo deſcended to imitate, nay, to emulate the Glories of their Noble 6. *Both together.*

* Quis generoſus? Ad Virtutem à Naturâ bene compoſitus. Animus facit nobilem, cui ex quâcunque conditione ſupra fortunam liceat ſurgere.

Progenitors. The Seeds of Virtue and Honour are in them already.

* *In Sons Their Father's Virtues ſhine,*
And Souls as well as Faces keep the Line.

This one Advantage is obſervable in being Nobly born, that it makes Men ſenſible they are ally'd to Virtue, and lays ſtrong Obligations upon them not to degenerate from the Excellencies of their Anceſtors. And ſure there cannot be a more forcible Motive to ſpur and quicken Men in the purſuit of Glory, and the attempting Great and Noble Actions, than the being conſcious to Themſelves, that they are come out of the Loins of thoſe very Perſons, who have behaved themſelves gallantly, ſerved their King and Country, and been eminent and uſeful in their Generations. Is it poſſible Men can pleaſe Themſelves with theſe Reflections to feed their Vanity, as it is manifeſt they do, and not think at the ſame time how vile and reproachful it is in Them, to baſtardize and bely their Race, to ſerve only as a Foil to their Forefather's Virtues, and caſt back Darkneſs and Diſgrace upon the Luſtre of their Memories?

Nobility granted by the particular Patent, and partial Favour of a Prince, without any Merit to give a Title to it, and neither perſonal Accompliſhments, nor an ancient Family to ſupport and ſet it off, is rather a Blemiſh and Mark of Shame, than of Honour. It is a poor, pitiful, Parchment-Nobility; bought to ſupply a needy King, or to feed a hungry Courtier; the Price of Silver and Gold, or the effect of Countenance and Acceſs; not the purchaſe of Blood and Sweat, as ſuch Honours ought to be. But if it be granted

* Fortes creantur Fortibus & Bonis, &c. *Horat. Ode 4. Lib. 4.*

for

for any ſingular Deſert, and ſignal good Services, then it falls not within the compaſs of this Notion; but is to be reputed perſonal and acquired, and hath a Right to all thoſe Privileges and Commendations, which were ſaid to belong to that ſort of Nobility before.

CHAP. LX.

Of Honour.

IT is the Notion of ſome, but a very miſtaken Notion ſure it is, That Honour is the proper Price and Recompenſe of Virtue. Others have a little corrected this Notion, by calling it, the Acknowledgment of Virtue in the Perſons to whom we pay it, or the Prerogative of a good Opinion firſt, and then of thoſe outward Reſpects, whereby we teſtifie that good Opinion; for it is moſt certainly a Privilege that derives its Eſſence and Nature Principally from Virtue. Others call it Virtue's Shadow, which follows, or goes before it; as the Shadow does the Subſtance and Body from whence it is reflected. But, to ſpeak more properly, it is the Splendor or Fame of brave and virtuous Actions, darted out from the Soul upon the Eyes of the World, and then rebounding back again upon our ſelves, by that Demonſtration it gives of what others think of us, and the mighty Satisfaction of the Mind reſulting from this Senſe of their Good Eſteem.

Now, *Honour* is ſo very highly eſteemed, ſo very eagerly ſought, that we generally balk no Difficulty to come at it. We endure any thing for its ſake, deſpiſe every thing in Compariſon of it; even Life it ſelf is not thought a Purchaſe too

Dear to compaſs it. And yet after All, This is but a thin, airy Buſineſs, uncertain and fickle; foreign and at ſome diſtance from the Perſon receiving it, and the Things for which it is paid. It is not only not Eſſential to him, not any Part or Appurtenance of his Perſon, and Subſtance, but it ſcarce ever comes home to him. For, generally ſpeaking, this Deference is given to Perſons either Abſent or Dead; and if Living, it is not accounted good Manners to praiſe them to their Faces; ſo that it waits without, and belongs to a Man's Name only; which bears all his Commendations and Diſgraces, his Scandal, and his Reſpects; from whence one is ſaid to bear a *Good* or *Wicked Name.*

Now, the *Name* is no part of the *Nature of the Thing*, but only the Image which gives us a Repreſentation of it. A Mark of Diſtinction, to know it from other Things by: In a Word, ſomewhat that goes between the *Eſſence* of the Thing, and the *Honour* or *Diſhonour* belonging to it. For it is applied to the Subſtance, and whatever is ſaid of it, Good, or Bad, falls upon This; and is born by it. Now *Honour*, before it reſts upon the Name, fetches a kind of Circular Flight; and makes ſome ſtay upon the Action, the Heart and the Tongue. Whatever gallant, commendable Action is Atchieved, is, as it were, the Root, the Source, the Parent which gives Birth and Being to Honour; for in truth, *Honour is nothing elſe, but the Luſtre and Reſplendence of ſome Glorious, or Beneficial, or otherwiſe, Noble Exploit.* Whatever Perfection a Thing hath in it ſelf, with regard to its own Intrinſick Worth; yet if it do not produce ſome Effect, which is Excellent, it is *not capable* of Honour; but, to all Intents and Purpoſes of this kind, as if it had never been at all. *The* next Advance is made into the Mind, where it firſt begins to live, and is form'd into good Opinions,

and

and Venerable Eſteem. Then it comes abroad in the laſt Place, and rides Triumphant upon Men's Tongues and Pens; and ſo reflects and returns back again, upon the Name of the Perſon, who did that Celebrated Action, from whence it firſt ſet out, (as the Sun returns Daily to the Point from whence his Motion began,) and when it hath finiſh'd this Courſe, it from thenceforth carries the Name of *Honour*, Praiſe, Glory, Renown, or the like.

But to what Sorts of Performances this Recompence is due, hath been a Queſtion much diſputed. Some Perſons have delivered their Opinion, that Honour does not only, nor properly conſiſt in a Man's behaving himſelf well, where great and difficult Poſts are to be filled and managed by him (for every Man's Circumſtances will not furniſh him with Opportunities of weighty Adminiſtrations) but in the faithful Diſcharge of the Duties of each Perſon's particular Profeſſion, be the Capacity of the Man what it will. For all Commendation is the Effect and Reward of a Man's performing commendably, that which is his proper Buſineſs to do. Thus we find Reaſon and Common Senſe, determine us in Publick Theatres, which are but ſo many Images in little of this Great Theatre of the Univerſe. The Condition and Splendor of the Character is not enquired into, nor weighs at all with our Judgments; but He, who upon the Stage, plays the Part of a Servant or Buffoon, if he do it well, and to the Life, meets with as much Applauſe, as if he had repreſented a General, or an Emperour. And he that cannot work in Gold, if he ſhew the Perfection of his Art, and carve the Poſtures and Proportions well, in Copper, or in Plaiſter, is reputed a good Statuary; becauſe this Excellence depends not upon the Fineneſs or Value of the Materials, but in the

the Skill ſhewed upon them. But yet it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that Honour is an Advantage for ſomething more Noble and Sublime than Ordinary; and that no Actions, but ſuch only, which have Difficulty or Danger in them, can make juſt Pretenſions to it. Thoſe that are but juſt what they ought to be, ſuch as our reſpective Stations require, and proceeding from a Senſe of Obligation and Duty, cannot aſpire to ſo great Worth, nor put in for ſo ample a Reward; a Reward which is diſparaged by being made Common or Ordinary, and not ſuited to all Degrees of Perſons and Performances. Thus every virtuous and chaſte Wife, and every Man of Integrity and good Conduct, is not therefore a Perſon of Honour. For there muſt go more than Probity to the denominating them ſo; there muſt be Pains, and Difficulty, and Danger; nay, and, ſome will tell you, there muſt be ſomewhat of general Good, and Advantage to the Publick, to juſtifie that Character in its full and true Extent. Let a Man's Actions be never ſo Good, never ſo Uſeful, if they be private and the Advantage redound to himſelf alone, another ſort of Payment belongs to them. They will have the Approbation of his own Conſcience; they will procure the Love, and Favour, and good Word of his Neighbours and Acquaintance; they will enſure his Safety, and put him under the Protection of the Law; but except the Influence and Advantage of them be large and diffuſive, they cannot come up to Honour; for Honour is a publick Thing, and implies more of Dignity; and comprehends Splendor and Noiſe, Admiration, and Common Fame in the Nature and Notion of it. Others add farther, that an Honourable Action muſt not be a part of our Duty, but perfectly free and ſupererogating; for if Men were obliged to it, all Pretenſion to Honour is loſt.

The

The Deſire of Honour, and Glory, and a Sollicitous ſeeking the Approbation and good Opinion of Others, is a very vicious, violent and powerful Paſſion. The Inordinacy whereof hath been ſufficiently explained and proved already in the Chapter concerning Ambition. But as Bad as it is in it ſelf, it does great Service to the Publick. For it reſtrains Mens Extravagancies, and keeps them within the Bounds of Decency and Duty; it awakens their ſleeping Powers, ſhakes off Sloth, and kindles in them generous Deſires, inſpires great Thoughts, and Glorious Actions. Not that it is much for their Credit to be acted and invigorated by ſo corrupt a Principle; but rather a Teſtimony and ſtrong Evidence of the Weakneſs and Poverty of our Nature and Condition; who are thus forced to uſe and accept clipt and counterfeit Money in Payment, when Standard and true Sterling cannot be had. But for the Determining preciſely in what Caſes, and how far this Paſſion is excuſable, and where it is to blame, and muſt be rejected and diſallow'd; and for the making it manifeſt, that Honour is not the proper Recompence of Virtue, I muſt refer you to thoſe Diſtinctions and Diſcourſes upon it, which will occur hereafter. 3. Chap. xxii. Book III. *In the Virtue of Temperance,* Ch. XLII.

Of the Marks of Honour there is great Variety; but the moſt deſirable and charming, are Thoſe, where there are no Mixtures of private Gain and Intereſt; ſuch as nothing can be drawn out of, nor any Share lie in Common, for the Advantage of a Vicious Man; or of ſuch low and inferiour People, as ſhall pretend to ſerve the Publick by mean and diſhonourable Offices. The leſs of Advantage they bring with them, the more Valuable they are. And accordingly we find the Ancients infinitely fond of, and with all their Induſtry and Pains, aſpiring after thoſe, which had nothing elſe

to

to recommend them, but purely their being Marks of Diſtinction, and Characteriſtical Notes of Honour and Virtue. Of this Nature in the ſeveral Republicks of old, were the Garlands of Laurel and Oaken-Leaves, (and ſo are the particular "Bearings in Coats of Arms at this Day, added "to the former Charges of the Field, upon ſome "ſpecial Piece of Service) diſtinct Habits, and Robes; the Prerogative of ſome Sirname, as *Africanus* to *Scipio*, and the like: Precedence and Place in Publick Aſſemblies, and Orders of Knighthood. It may alſo fall out, that, when a Man's Deſerts are Notorious and Celebrated, it ſhall be more for his Honour, not to have theſe Enſigns and Marks, than to have them. And therefore *Cato* ſaid well, that it would make more for the Glory of his Name and Virtues, that People ſhould ask why the City had not erected a Statue to his Memory in the Forum, than that they ſhould enquire, why they had done it.

CHAP. LXI.

Of Learning.

LEarning is, without all Diſpute, a Noble and Beautiful Ornament; an Inſtrument of exceeding Uſe, when in the Hands of one, that hath the Skill to uſe it aright. But what Place and Proportion it deſerves in our Eſteem, is a Matter not ſo generally agreed upon. And here, as in all Caſes of the like Nature, Men fall into Extremes, and are to blame in both; Some in overvaluing, and Others in diſparaging and undervaluing it. Some run it up to that Extravagant Height,

leight, that they will not allow any other Advantage to come near, or be thought comparable to ; They look upon it, as the Supreme Happineſs; Ray and Efflux of the Divinity ; they hunt after t with Eagerneſs and inſatiable Appetite; with vaſt Expence, and indefatigable Labour and Pains; and are content to part with Eaſe, and Health, and every Thing in exchange for it. Others as much diminiſh and deſpiſe it ; treat Thoſe with Scorn who make it their Buſineſs and Profeſſion. And when we have obſerved this of either ſide, I ſuppoſe my Reader will make no Difficulty to allow, that a Moderation between both is beſt, moſt ſafe, moſt juſt and reaſonable. I, for my own part, were I to execute the Herald's Office in this Diſpute, ſhould think that Place is without all queſtion due to Integrity and Prudence, to Health and Wiſdom, and Virtue, nay, I ſhould not ſcruple to give Precedence to Skill and Dexterity in Buſineſs: But then for Dignity, and Noble Deſcent, and Military Valour, I ſhould think they might go together Hand in Hand, or leave them to diſpute the Priority out among Themſelves: But if I were preſs'd, and muſt deliver my Senſe freely and particularly, ſure it is equal in Honour to Theſe, or at leaſt the very next after them. *See* Book III. ch. 14.

Now, as Sciences differ from each other, according to the Subjects of which they treat, and the Matters they are employed about; and alſo in the Manner of acquiring, and attaining to a Maſtery in them; ſo do they likewiſe in the Uſefulneſs, the Reputableneſs, the Neceſſity, the Decency, the Fame, and the Gain of them. Some are purely Speculative, and aim at nothing farther, than merely Contemplation, the entertaining, informing, improving, brightening our Intellectual Faculties. Others are Practical, and lead us directly on to Action. Some again are Real,

and

and Converſant in Things; they bring us acquainted with Matters that are without us, either Natural or Supernatural Objects; Others are Nominal, They concern Diſcourſe only, teach us Languages, explain Terms of Arts, help us to expreſs our ſelves properly, and to reaſon regularly and cloſely. Now, from this ſhort Account, we may boldly ſay, That upon a Review of the foregoing Diſtinctions, Thoſe Sciences, which are moſt Manly and Reputable, moſt Uſeful, moſt Neceſſary, and have leaſt of Glory, and Vanity, and ſordid mercenary Profit attending them, are infinitely Preferable to the reſt. By the ſame reaſon then it follows beyond all Contradiction, that the Practical Sciences are of all others the moſt excellent; ſuch as propoſe the Good and Happineſs of Man for their End, and direct all their Inſtructions thither; that teach us to live, and to die well; to command and govern, to ſubmit and obey as becomes us; and therefore Theſe are worthy our moſt ſerious Application: Who ever pretends to Wiſdom, muſt lay out his Study and his Time here; and of ſuch, this Book is deſign'd to be a Compendious Summary and Abridgment: that is, of Morals, Oeconomicks, and Politicks; the Firſt for governing our Selves well; the Second for managing our Domeſtick Affairs, and preſiding over our Families well; and the Third for diſcharging our publick Offices well, if we be call'd to any Part in the Adminiſtration of the Government; or if we be private and ſubordinate only in both the laſt Capacities, then to conſider and make good the Duties incumbent upon any the meaneſt and moſt inferior Character. Next to theſe Practical Sciences, the Natural are to be regarded and eſteemed, which let us into the Knowledge of this Syſtem, and Fabrick of the Univerſe, and the infinite Variety of Creatures contained

ined in it; and that, both for our own Uſe and enefit, ſo far as they can be ſerviceable to us, id alſo to excite our Wonder, and Praiſe, and oſt Humble Adoration of His incomprehenſible ajeſty, and Goodneſs, and Wiſdom, and Power, ho is the Great Maſter-Builder, the conſtant Preerver and Governour of All, and every Part of . As for all the reſt, they are empty and frothy hings in Compariſon; and though we may all in upon them by the by, and for a little while, yet ought we not to ſet up our Reſt there, or make them the Buſineſs of our Lives; becauſe he Uſe and Effect of them is of no great Conſideration, and they contribute nothing at all towards the making us one whit better Men. To what purpoſe then is all that Time, and Trouble, and Expence, and how can we think it otherwiſe than loſt, or miſemploy'd, which we ſee ſtudious Men ſometimes lay out ſo liberally upon them? It is true, they may ſerve to get Money, or to raiſe ſomething of a Reputation among the People, but it is where Men are ignorant or ill-governed only: For otherwiſe they will ſeek and encourage ſuch Studies, as bring ſolid Comforts and Advantages, and are built upon a firm Bottom.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

Of Riches and Poverty.

THeſe are the two Foundations and Beginnings, the Root and Source of all the Troubles and Calamities, the Diſorders and Diſturbances, that confound, and put the World out of Courſe: For exceſs of Plenty and Riches exalts and puffs up the Poſſeſſors, renders them haughty and inſolent, ſwels them with Pride and Diſdain, prompts them to Luxury and Extravagance, to Senſuality and all manner of unlawful Pleaſures; encourages them to uſe their Inferiours contemptuouſly, and to inſult over their Wants and their Miſeries; makes them bold and daring, and in confidence of their Power, puts them upon ſeditious and dangerous Attempts. The extreme Poverty of Others ſubdues and dejects their Spirits, poyſons them with Envy and reſtleſs Jealouſie, with Indignation and Spight, Diſcontent and Deſpair; and, ſince Matters, they think, cannot be worſe, provokes them to try their Fortunes, and make a deſperate Puſh, in hopes they may be better. *Plato* calls the Poor the *Bane and Plague of a Commonwealth.* So that both theſe ſorts of Men are very dangerous; but whether of the Two is more ſo, Conſidering People have not agreed. *Ariſtotle* is of Opinion, that *Abundance* is more formidable to the Publick, than *Want*; for the State hath not much to fear from Them who deſire no more than a bare Subſiſtence; but it hath reaſon to be jealous of Thoſe, whoſe Wealth makes them Ambitious and Aſpiring; and whoſe Intereſt and Authority,

upon

upon the account of that Wealth, gives them Power and Opportunities to be very troubleſome. *Plato* thinks Poverty the worſe; for when poor People are grown deſperate, they are furious and terrible Creatures; when they are irritated and enrag'd with want of Bread, and cannot live upon their Work; when Trading is dead, and they are overburden'd with Taxes; then Neceſſity, (which is a great Miſtreſs, and finds her Scholars very apt) teaches them That, which they would never have ventur'd upon in better and more eaſie Circumſtances; and this makes them bold as Lions: For tho' each of them ſingle can do little or no Hurt, yet their Numbers are always great, and theſe give them Confidence. But whatever the Diſeaſe be, 'tis certain the Remedy is more ready at hand, and the Cure eaſier, for the Poor than for the Rich; this Miſchief is quickly reſtrain'd, and may be timely prevented. For ſo long as they have Neceſſaries, ſo long as they can carry on their Trades, and maintain their Families by them, they are generally contented. And therefore it highly concerns all Governours to preſerve and encourage Trade, becauſe in ſo doing they are ſure to keep good Order among the laborious, and hardy, and moſt neceſſitous; which to be ſure are generally the moſt numerous part of their Subjects. In the mean while, we may obſerve this very remarkable Difference between them, that the Rich have the Temptation within Themſelves, and are formidable upon the account of their own Perſonal Vices, and the Circumſtances they are in; but the Poor are not ſo from Themſelves, nor their Condition, but if ever They miniſter juſt cauſe of Fear, it is commonly thro' the Indiſcretion or the Cruelty of their Governours, who ſuffer them to be driven to the laſt Extremies; and when theſe pinch hard, and are no longer ſupportable, they are provok'd to play a deſperate Game in their own Defence.

Now ſeveral Lawgivers, and eminent Politicians have apply'd their Minds to contrive proper Methods

for the keeping off, and ſecuring the States they formed, or preſided over, from the Inconveniences attending each of theſe Extremes; and ſuch as ſo vaſt a Diſproportion of Eſtates and Fortunes will naturally expoſe the Publick to. They have been therefore deſirous to bring all nearer to a Level, to reduce the one, and raiſe the other; ſo that there ſhould be a kind of univerſal Mediocrity, and pretty near an equal Scantling: When Things ſtood upon this Foot, they promiſed Themſelves a ſure Foundation of Peace and Amity, and good Correſpondence, by removing all the Grounds of Contempt on the one hand, and of Envy and Jealouſie on the other, quite out of the way. Others have ſtretched this Project yet further; they are for introducing a common Stock, and leaving no peculiar Rights or Properties at all. But this is impracticable, and fantaſtical and never can exiſt long any where, but in Men's own Brains and Imaginations. Nor is that other Deſign of Equality any more practicable, or indeed at all poſſible. For tho' Men's Income be alike, yet their Expences and Occaſions will be far from being ſo. Theſe may vary upon a Thouſand Accidents; but it is enough that every Body is able to ſee an Inſtance in one, which is perfectly unanſwerable; and that is the Number of Children, which we all know neither do, nor ever can increaſe in every Family alike. And therefore it muſt needs be inſufficient, and the Deſign loſt, where the Neceſſities are not, nor ever can be equal. All the Attempts that have been at any time made toward the putting in practice this Levelling Principle, have ſcarce ever been able to ſet it on Foot: It coſts more than the Thing is worth to come to it; and if Men could arrive at it, yet it is highly inexpedient, and not at all to their Purpoſe. The End they aim at is never thus to be compaſſed; for after all, this is at laſt but to open another Door, and let the very Miſchief in the back way, which we take ſo much Pains to keep out.

For

For if Hatred and Contention be the Evils we are afraid of, where do we find Theſe more frequent and fierce than between Equals? How can we indeed reaſonably expect it otherwiſe, where Men think Themſelves a Match for one another, where there is no Diſtance or Reſpect to Temper, no Fear to curb and bind them to the Peace and their good Behaviour? If Envy and Jealouſies ariſe againſt Superiours, ſo do they likewiſe among Equals; and this latter ſort is the Seed of Diſturbances and Confuſions, Seditions and Civil Wars. Some Diſproportion therefore is abſolutely neceſſary, but ſuch as is moderate, and may keep the Balance even and ſteady. Order is like Harmony; if all Sounds were the ſame, there could be no Muſick; but yet it is neceſſary theſe different Notes ſhould agree in general Cords, and retain ſome Proportion to make the Compoſition regular and ſweet. But a perfect Level is like a continu'd Uniſon; and nothing is more flat, * *nothing more unequal than an exact Equality.*

This ſo very great Diſparity of Eſtates and Poſſeſſions proceeds from ſeveral very different Cauſes; but more eſpecially from Two. The One is unjuſt Borrowings, and hard Loans; when Men are forced and content to take up Money at any rate, and ſubmit to all the unconſcionable Intereſts that Griping Uſurers put upon them; by which means thoſe unjuſt Creditors eat into their Eſtates, gnaw out their very Heart and Bowels, and by degrees ſwallow all, and ſo grow fat upon the Subſtance of other People. To ſuch as Theſe may that Complaint of the *Pſalmiſt* not improperly be apply'd, *They eat up my People as they would eat Bread.* The Other is by Diſpoſals of Eſtates, and that either by Men during their own Life-time, in Alienations, Dowries, and Portioning of Children when they Marry, or ſet up in the World; or elſe by laſt Will, and Bequeſt at the time of their Death. By

3. Pſal. liii. 5.

* Nihil eſt æqualitate inæqualius.

all